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The principal undertakers of the Tui Tonga in the time of the first Falefa were the matapule Aholangamaka and Mailau, who were under the Tui Folaha, the supervisor of stone vault construction. In the time of the second Falefa, at least Tui Loloko, Tui Matahau, and Tui Talau, and presumably also the fourth, Tui Amanave, had funerary functions.

At the present time the Tui Haa Teiho appoints Fiefia and Ngalu as his undertakers, while the Tui Kanokupolu has the great matapule Lauaki and the lesser matapule Mailau and Mau as his undertakers. Ulukalala of Vavau, like other Vavau chiefs, has no special undertaker, but when he dies it is likely that Lauaki or Mailau, or some other *haatufunga*, will look after him. There are many chiefs without undertakers.

The undertakers now in Vavau are: Kata, grandson and representative of Lauaki; Vatuvei, formerly appointed by the Tui Tonga; Aholangamaka of Falevai, the son of Vatuvei.

Lamatau (full name Lamatuuaki: *lama*, to watch the end of life, and *tauaki*, almost dead) was also a *haatufunga* to the Tui Tonga. His duty was to watch beside the dying man, sitting with a *kie* or *ngafingafi* mat to spread over the corpse. The mat was supplied by the family of the dying person. After covering the corpse with it, the watcher removes the mat and goes off with it, retaining it as his property.

Preparation of the body for burial may be done also by relatives of equal or superior rank to the deceased, such as the *fae* (mother, real or classificatory) or the *mehekitanga* (father's sister, real or classificatory).

Mailau was the title of the matapule who supervised the cutting and moving of stones for the construction of royal tombs. Such work was seen by Labillardière (37, vol. 2, p. 150). Modern royal tombs are built of concrete; formerly they were of coral limestone. The Tui Tonga Laufilitonga's tomb, Langi Foou, is built of concrete on top of the ancient Langituofefafa. A list of royal tombs called langi is published (25, 125). The modern kings, the Tui Kanokupolu George I and George II, are buried in great terraced concrete tombs in the Malae Kula at Nukualofa.

Upon the undertakers the *nimatapu* (hand-tapu) was imposed for five, ten, or fifteen days, which meant that they could not feed themselves for that length of time after handling a corpse—being fed by others. The period varied with the rank of the deceased. The penalty for touching food was said to be punishment by the highest chief of the family. A *haatufunga* might or might not be a relative of the deceased. That the hand tapu on the undertaker followed the handling of the corpse of persons of scant rank is not certain.

Nowadays even commoners are buried by the *haatufunga*. Anciently a commoner's corpse might or might not receive such attention, and it was

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on other occasions, such as the visiting of a relative's grave or at the task called *lanu kilikili* (p. 201).

A *tua* never sang his mourning song for a deceased chief or matapule. Only the chief's near relatives and ranking friends had the privilege of so mourning for him.

Every time a new contingent of mourners arrived at the place of death, the fact became evident from the loud, energetic nature of the singing. This zest soon died down until the songs blended monotonously into the general confusion of the ensemble of mourning. All mourning laments made constant use of the word *oiaue* (alas). The term *fakapo* (literally murder) is also employed. Thus, when women mourn they beat their breasts and cry, "Fakapo, fakapo."

When a chief died, all his *tua* retainers "cut" (singed) off their hair as a sign of mourning (*tauangaa*). The hair was not "bobbed," but was removed quite close to the scalp. There seems to be some doubt as to whether matapule followed this practice, and chiefs are said never to have cut their hair as a sign of mourning, except upon the death of the Tui Tonga or Tamaha, when all the inhabitants of Tonga shaved their heads. The heads of immature children are shaved on the death of their father as a sign of respect and mourning.

Because of the tapu of the head of a deceased person, a visitor lower in rank sits at some distance at the foot of the corpse. Nowadays it is common to kiss the dead person's face, but after so doing an inferior relative sits in the part of the room towards the feet of the corpse and the visit is not long.

The term *fakakoloa* means to enshroud a corpse with tapa and mats. A great pile of these was spread over the body of one of rank and distinction. This work was done by women only, including all the wives and women of the chief and of his retainers. A hand barrow or bier called *fata* served to carry a corpse. When the *fata* was made for the body of a Tui Tonga, Tui Tonga Fefine, or Tamaha, a great many men shouldered the poles to carry it.

A house, like a dwelling house, to which a chief was taken when thought to be dying, was called *faletolia*. The house was specially constructed for this prospective event. Here the chief was left to die, all his matapule and retainers gathering about him to mourn and take care of him. Or if a chief should die suddenly, his corpse would be taken to such a house to lie in state. The *tua* from among a chief's retainers did all of the manual labor in connection with the upkeep of the *faletolia*, the *haatufunga* attending to the official and ceremonial duties. After the burial the house might be burned or the sister's son (*fahu*) of the deceased might claim it as a future place of dwelling. Previous to this, all the mats and other household effects as-

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sembled for the chief's use and comfort while he lived, were disposed of. After the *fahu* took the pick of these, the *haatufunga* distributed the remainder among important chiefs and matapules, retainers, and relatives of the deceased, but kept a goodly share for himself, however.

The house built over a chief's grave was also called *faletolia*, according to my information, which is perhaps in error. Its practical purpose was to shelter the ornamental grave design (*fungaputu*) from wind and rain. The purpose avowedly ascribed to it, however, was that of protecting the dead chief from the sun and rain. There was no priest or caretaker in such a house, nor was food put there. Tapa and mats might be placed in it by way of remembrance. Such objects might be replaced with fresh ones from time to time. Sometimes a coconut leaf screen was put around the grave within the house.

The *falefeao* was an inferior dwelling house built near the *faletolia* of a dying chief, and used as a dwelling by his attendants. Some houses might already be located conveniently near the *faletolia*; others were especially constructed on the spot or moved from a former site. Baker's definition of *falefeao* as "the house built near the god's house for the reception of the sick" (no doubt when seeking divine intervention for a cure) would seem a more apt definition for *falctolia*, however. He says also that the *falefeao* may be any house built or used for those attending a superior's wants on some special occasion.

When one was about to die and the people were sent to fetch the sand for the grave, one person was sent to get a branch of the *aveave* and put it in the place in the cemetery where the sand from the beach was to be deposited. This was termed *ae aveave* (to plant the *aveave*). This branch was not removed but allowed to grow.

The digging of the grave is the last of the preparations and is never done while the sick person is still alive. Should the burial be postponed after the grave has been dug, the grave is filled up and the same site dug out afresh on the day of burial.

The funeral lights which are burned at night about a corpse are called *takipo*. A high chief has more lights than a commoner. There are three people to a torch, one to hold it, two to replenish it. The torch holders face the body, but are not near it. The earliest traditional mention of the *takipo* is afforded by the story of the death of the famous Tui Tonga Tuitatui who reigned about 1200 A. D. (26, p. 45).

Old, torn mats (*tauangaa*) are worn as a sign of mourning for a near relative. For a remote relative who is not a chief a good mat may be worn. The mourning mat worn by a chief over his tapa garment is called *fakangafingafi*. The generic term *taovala* applies to *tauangaa* and *fakangafingafi*. Neither tapa nor modern textile cloth may be so worn.

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them to Tonga and Haapai and appointed a ruler there; but Tupoutoa was the king over all and he came and dwelt at Haapai. After a short time Tonga rose up and the different chiefs of the different forts united. The chief Takai was the strongest so he ruled. After a little while he became ill and died, and his brother Fae ruled in his place. The chiefs of the forts, Pea, Houma, Nukualofa, Hule, Kolofoou, Vaini, and Fuaamotu and some others were still in union. Tupoutoa brought the warriors of Vavau and went and again fought Tonga. That battle was fought at Pea. The king moved and dwelt at Ango and kept on the fight against Pea. It is said if they had been at a distance from each other they would have been overcome, but because they were so near, the people of Pea were like lions fighting.

There were some Europeans with the king and his army and they told him how to make European guns by splitting the nut trees and hollowing them out; then putting in gun powder to shoot into the earth fortification of the fort, so that it would slide and then the warriors would be able to enter the fort. It was done. There were three vessels with the Talinofo, the vessel of Haano. They did a lot of work. They tied them as is done in the making of the fence of a fort, so as to be strong when the shots came from the fort. They tried to undermine the fortifications. The people in the fort tied reeds and coconut pods together and set fire to them and threw them so that the sappers were burned and were not able to undermine the fortifications. If it had not been for this they might have succeeded.

One vessel which was not firmly fastened was almost drawn into the fort. There was a gun in the fort and the chief Otunuku of Haano was wounded by it in the face and died. That chief was the strong man of that band of warriors. He was brought away and Fuapau commanded that he be taken to Haano. He was taken in his canoe by the brave Mohuniu and that took away many people to do it. Then the vessel returned to Tonga. And it is said that the siege by vessel continued because the use of the vessel was drawing it to plant fences in a line. In one battle there was a party of Pea warriors lying in ambush and when returning they met the scouts of the king's warriors from Haapai, who killed the brave warrior from Pea of whose bravery they boasted. His name was Fakahau (like a king). He was killed by Longani (*longa*, a resting place; *ni*, this). And there was another brave warrior named Tuuiahau who was very swift footed. For the least thing he would club a person. He was killed by the warrior Telasili. Many were killed from the army of Pea. And when Tupoutoa saw that so many of the famous warriors of the fort were killed, he ended the war. He made peace with the enemy, but it was not a true peace, because neither side was beaten.

The king's army was disbanded and some went to Vavau and some to Haapai; and the king brought his vessels and drew them up at Mua. The Tui Kanokupolu was taken sick and lay down and continued to get worse, so he commanded that he should be taken to Maufanga, the city of refuge, and he and his attendants removed there. He knew perhaps that he was dying for he sent privately to the chiefs of his party who were at Mua for them to draw down the vessels into the sea. It was done, and the vessels were launched, but they were afraid that there would be war. As soon as the vessels were launched they loaded at once, as he had sent word that they were to go to Pangaimotu. It looked as though he knew the time that he would leave this world. He sent word that a small canoe was to be sent for him, and it came towards evening. He was taken at once to the canoe and few knew whether he died at Maufanga or in the canoe or at Pangaimotu. This occurred in 1820.

And I would say that Tupoutoa did this out of love for his people lest they should be held at Tonga if it became known that he was dead. He did this so that his people could get away to Haapai. Then word was sent to Tonga that Tupoutoa was dead. Then all the vessels came and anchored at once. One army came from Hihifo. They came to carry down Tupoutoa's body, but when they arrived all was ready and the chiefs thanked them for coming and told them to return to Hihifo as they would take Tupoutoa's corpse to Uiha themselves. And it was reported that [the people of] Tonga would come, but they only came for the ceremony of preparing cooked coconuts for their dead king, whom they were taking away; but the people

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The following anecdote is told:

Kavaanuku was the name of the Foa Island chief who had soldiers for war. The soldiers from Tonga came to Foa and fought with Kavaanuku's soldiers. They fought and Kavaanuku's soldiers ran to Manakoto's place. They were whipped and feared the Tongan soldiers. The soldiers from Tonga tied with rope a man and took him to Manakoto and Kavaanuku, before whom they strangled him. Then Kavaanuku, likewise strangled a man as an offering to the goddess. Thereupon the soldiers from Tonga strangled two Tongan men and took them to Manakoto, because they wanted Hikuleo's permission to enter her sanctuary and to destroy Kavaanuku's soldiers. Permission was gained when the Tongans sacrificed the two men to the goddess. The sacrificed men were left on the ground to rot outside of the goddess' house. Then the Tongan soldiers attacked and killed all of Kavaanuku's men. That was the first time anyone had attacked the sanctuary of Fanakava. This happened in the time of the great great grandfather of the present Tui Haa Ngana.

Another account of Hikuleo follows:

Hikuleo had also a shrine in the island of Uiha, Haapai. Her tract of land was called Taoa, and her house was built thereon. She was appealed to through the medium of the usual finger sacrifice when there was sickness. People who intended to voyage must inform Hikuleo first, otherwise they would encounter bad winds. People beseeching the aid of the goddess seated themselves outside of the house in which she was believed to be. A man looked after the feeding of the goddess, giving her the food which the people brought. All of the people in Uiha worshipped Hikuleo; other deities were also worshipped. Hikuleo was the patron goddess of the chief Malupo of Uiha. In connection with her worship in Uiha one tapu required everyone to be quiet for a time at noon, forbidding the beating of tapa or making of any noise; another tapu forbade orange juggling at night, under penalty of losing one's eyesight; and another forbade old women to make mats, because they [old women?] smelt badly to the goddess.

Fehuluni

Fehuluni is a widely known Tongan deity who even in Christian times appears as an apparition. The origin of this deity has been related (26, pp. 153-155). My hitherto unpublished information concerning Fehuluni pertains to the Haapai and Vavau groups.

Fehuluni apparently appears always in human form—to a man appearing in feminine form; to a woman, in masculine form. The person whose affection is won by Fehuluni is said to die, often wasting away, and people are said to become unconscious on first seeing her. One informant characterized Fehuluni as a *tupui tevolo,* that is an original god rather than an *ata* (shadow). The island of Nomuka, Haapai, is the particular haunt of the deity, where she had a temple, like an ordinary Tongan house, located on the tract Tuanuku. Three people officiated as priests, a man named Samuel Masivahemolo and his sisters Latu and Fatai, all of whom were inspired at times by Fehuluni becoming incarnate in one of them, the manifestation of the incarnation being trembling. On the occasion of such a divine visitation the inspired servant of the god remained within the temple. The people who prayed to Fehuluni sometimes entered her house, sometimes remained outside.

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To Fehuluni are attributed strong sexual desires. If a handsome man attracted the deity he took female form and slept with him, after which the man died. A similar fate overtook any beautiful woman in whom the deity became interested. 776 833 763

The three following tales relate encounters with Fehuluni in female form: 776 773

There were two men who went on horseback to Ahau, Nomuka Island. When they reached the big *otava* tree at Ahau, it was almost sundown. They saw a woman sitting beside the road. They stopped the horses and made them walk slowly. This woman told them to dismount, so they did. They came up to the woman and she asked for tobacco. They had none. She told them they had better go to the village and get her some. They went and got tobacco and kava and returned to her. Just before they got back to her they looked ahead and saw her without a head. She had her head in her hands and was combing the hair. They stood for a while and watched in fear. They beat their horses and flew back to the village. If Fehuluni had known they were so close she would not have frightened them like that. They discovered who she was in time. In two or three days they sickened and died.

One day a man named David Kaufusi went to Ahau, to do some work there. After doing his work he went around to the west side of the island. Suddenly he saw Fehuluni and several other women "devils" sitting on the road, juggling oranges. They looked like Tongan women. He was surprised to see the "devils" and was right amongst them before he realized it. Fehuluni was the prettiest of all. David came to a standstill and she told her woman to bring him to her and they would eat him. "We are very hungry," she said. They laid him down and ate out all his flesh, leaving only skin and bones. After the feast they blew him up with air and left him lying there. On the same day, a priestess at Ahau sent word to the people to go around to the west side of the island and bring David, for her god had informed her of what had happened to him. So the people went and found him lying there. When they went to lift him up, his skin broke. He was dead. So they brought the skin and bones and buried them in the graveyard named Fakahakonoa at Ahau. The people knew what had happened to David, because the priestess told them.

Tanisisi was the "slayer" of Fehuluni about 1890. This was when there were plenty of ducks in the lake of Nomuka. Tanisisi went out one morning to shoot ducks. He shot many. He had the bush tract Haafota, at the southeast point of the island. He shot the ducks on the lagoon and then went back to his tract. He dropped the ducks and went out to the headland, to see if there were any ducks standing on the rocks at the point of the island to warm themselves at sunrise. On the way to the point he saw a woman standing beside a toa tree. He stood for a while, but could not determine who she was, though he knew all in the town. She wore only a short tapa garment, not reaching to her knees, and no other clothes. Her hair hung to her heels. Tanisisi could not identify her, for no Nomuka woman had such long hair. She was looking away from him, facing the sea. It came to Tanisisi's mind that it was Fehuluni. He thought this when he first saw her. So he loaded his gun and fired at her. When he fired she went to nothing. He could find no body. When he came to the spot he found a dead skink (*pili*) with a wound right through its body. Fehuluni has since been seen and hence was not actually killed.

When questioned about sexual connection with Fehuluni, the informant said it never really occurs, because the deity is only a shadow which cannot be touched. People upon whom Fehuluni looks are said to go out of their minds. That Tanisisi did not go crazy is accounted for by the fact that Fehuluni did not look at him. Fehuluni usually is to be seen near the big tree [833] [158] 776

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origin, having been built a few generations ago, for pigeon catching, by Matauvave, the matapule of Tui Tonga, who had charge of that sport in Haapai. There was no house for the deities on this mound. 776 349

The informant translated Malimeihevao as "stealing your senses if you are liked," but an analysis of the word yields: *mali*, to smile or to marry; *meihe*, from the; *vao*, bush, which is quite in consonance with the attributes of the deity. Puakamopele was translated as "pig and stronger," but analyses as "pig and favorite, pet, or darling." 776 196

The sacred animal of Puakamopele was the gecko called *moko*, that of Malimeihevao was the owl called *lulu* (*Strix delicatula*). As already stated, Malimeihevao entered the owl, where he still dwells, through which medium he still meddles with the affairs of mortals. If a woman is pregnant but the fact is not public knowledge, the owl makes it known by calling near the house in which the woman lives. Likewise, if the owl calls near a house and then flies to the graveyard, it is a sign that death will soon visit that house. 776 825 [787] [843] [763]

Tui Haa Fakafanua

The deity Tui Haa Fakafanua is by Collocott and Tongan informants identified with Tutumatua of Fiji and with Moso of Samoa. One Tongan informant also identified this god with Seketoa of Niuatoputapu. It seems likely that these identifications, particularly the last, are in the nature of rationalizations. 776

Collocott (9, p. 156) describes the entry of this god into his priest. He manifested himself in the gecko, or to use the Tongan metaphor, the gecko was the "boat of the god." [787] [825]

Maufanga in Tongatabu and Faleloa in the island of Foa, Haapai, seem to have been principal seats of this god, although a third sanctuary was located in Lifuka, Haapai, on the site called Hahaia, now occupied by the Catholic church. Collocott's account (op. cit. p. 227) of the god refers especially to his manifestations in Tongatabu and to his connection with the chief Fakafanua. The ancestor of Fakafanua, the present noble of Maufanga, was Kinikinilau who probably lived in the early part of the seventeenth century (26, p. 69) so that the Fakafanua title does not appear to be very old. The exact site of the sanctuary in Tongatabu was called Vakataumai. The priest seems to have borne the name of Makaui. If tradition is to be relied upon, there was already a Makaui officiating in the time of Kinikinilau. It would be interesting to know whether the god of that time bore the name Tui Haa Fakafanua. Today the god is rudely referred to as Fakafanua's devil as well as by his true name. Collocott refers to the famous sanctuary of the god at Maufanga, which afforded protection to fugitives from vengeance. It was this sanctuary that was shelled by the French warship Astrolabe in 1827 (20, p. 268 footnote): 776 778 [793]

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It happened to be the sacred town of Ma Fanga, which, being the supposed abode of their deities, and of the souls of their ancestors and deceased friends, has always from time immemorial been considered neutral ground, and as such respected in their most bloody wars. It is governed by the high-priest of the island, who guards the tombs of the deceased princes, presides at the annual sacrifices, and receives the first-fruits offered at the shrine of their deities.

Tui Haa Fakafanua is one of the deities who is still regarded as existent in Tonga. The sacred pool of the god is located near the present convent in Maufanga. If a woman bathes alone in this pool, and while bathing sees a gecko, she believes that the god has entered her and death is the result. Frequently when a girl dies it is said that the god has caused her death, whether or not she has bathed in the god's pool. This god is also believed to have manifested himself at times on Eua Island. A small, clear stream called Malimaliloto is sacred to this god. A man who dwelt beside the stream was made very handsome by the god, who himself is said to appear sometimes as a handsome man in order to have his way with some woman. In Lifuka, Haapai, the priest of the god dwelt in a house on the site of the god's temple. He possessed the power of prophecy and whatever he foretold came to pass. In the priest's house was a room formed of tapa screens. If people came to consult the priest he told them to wait for the god. After waiting inside the house for a while, a gecko usually put in its appearance somewhere in the house and was regarded as the manifestation of the god. Should relatives of a very sick man appeal to the god, the appearance of the gecko was regarded as a favorable omen for the man's recovery, its non-appearance indicating that the god did not wish the patient to live. Usually the priest was hidden behind the tapa screen when the gecko appeared. When the priest became possessed by the god he lay down and shook violently. After the spasm of trembling was over he would sit up and tell the waiting people the wishes of the god. It is said this priest talked in a natural tone of voice. This particular priest was murdered by Taufaahau, afterwards King George I. Taufaahau had warned the priest to cease his practice, but he did not do so. Taufaahau had his people bring kava to the house of the god. There the kava ring was formed and the brew served. Taufaahau served the priest. As he threw back his head to drink, Taufaahau struck him on the neck with his fist and killed him. Thereafter the adherents of the god became Christian.

Three informants of Faleloa, and one of Fotua, Foa Island, Haapai, related stories about the sanctuary of Tui Haa Fakafanua at that place. The god's house was said to be a long house, hence the origin of the name Faleloa for the modern village. As usual, the manifestation of the god at this sanctuary was through the medium of a gecko. The god appeared in or was represented (*fakafofonga*) by a woman named Nganga, according to the Faleloa informants; by a priest named Makaui according to the Fotua informant.

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objection was that it had been the place of a god's house. Girls of Pangaimotu were warned not to bathe on the beach in front of this site lest the god steal them away. A girl thus ravished by the god either died shortly thereafter, or was never seen again.

Hina

The moon is regarded as the abode of Hina, the goddess of beauty and consort of the handsome god Sinilau. It is said that in the full moon, Hina can be seen seated under an *ovava* tree beating tapa on a tapa board (*tutua*). One informant mentioned a moon god named Mahina, which is also the designation of the physical moon itself and also of the months. The term *hinehina* refers to the whiteness of moonlight. The sun seems also to have been anthropomorphised, for he is characterized as the father of certain heroes (26, p. 111). There were, however, no temples to either the sun or the moon, nor were there any priests so far as I could learn.

Taufa

The full name of the deity Taufa is Taufaitahi or Taufa-of-the-sea. His principal shrine seems to have been at Tatakamotonga, in Mua, the capital of Tongatabu. The temple, called Kikiloi, was located on the tract Ahau. This temple was not different from any ordinary Tongan house. There was also a temple of this god in the tract called Ahau in the present village of Hihifo, Lifuka Island, Haapai. In both Haapai and Tongatabu the god was believed to appear in the form of a white man-eating shark (*tenifa*). Should a *tenifa* kill anyone, the people considered that the god was angry and proceeded to present kava and other things to propitiate him. In Lifuka, the descendants of the former shark worshippers still live in the tract called Ahau. The head of the family today is David Ti.

Taufaitahi bears the distinction of having been the patron god of Taufaahau, later King George I.

Taufaahau was originally called as a small boy Ngininginiofolanga. His health was poor, so his parents brought him from Haapai to Tongatabu, taking him to the chief Vaea of Houma and to Maafutukuiaulahi of Vaini, whose daughter, Hoamofaleono, was Taufaahau's mother. Moreover, in that time there was a famine in Haapai. Vaea and Maafu took the boy to the temple of Taufaitahi at Mua and besought Kautae the priest to plead for him. They carried the boy into the god's house and then they brought a coconut to Kautae who spun it. When the coconut stopped, the eyes pointed skyward (out of the door of the house) and the sickness left the boy. If the coconut had pointed otherwise the boy would have died. The cause of the boy's sickness was unknown. The god was in the priest Kautae at the time of the cure. At the curing Kautae, while inspired, said to Taufaahau's family: "I'm going to cure him. I think he is better. I think I can make him better. If I can't you'd better take him to another god. I'll spin the coconut to see if he will get better."

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through the priest, would reply, "Very well, you may prepare for rain. Fix the leaky roofs, bring food, and prepare everything for the rain. In four or five days it must rain." On one particular occasion the sixth day dawned without a cloud in the sky, but by three o'clock in the afternoon the rain clouds had assembled and the rain had begun. The rain lasted for the period which the god had predicted. The Fotuhaa people always followed this procedure whenever they wished rain.

When the missionaries were about to come to Fotuhaa, the god informed the people that he was going to leave and to take up his residence on the islands of Kao and Tofua. He knew in advance of the coming of the missionaries. The informant, a Fotuhaa man, seemed to consider the god and the priest as practically identical. At least he designated both by the term *taula tevolo.*

This same mode of identifying priest and god was common to most all of the informants I interviewed concerning the gods.

Deities of Haano Island

The god of Tui Haa Ngana, the ruler of Haano Island, was called Feinga Uteo (To-earnestly-desire-sugar-cane). Nothing was learned about the attributes or functions of this god. The sanctuary of Hikuleo on this island has been discussed earlier.

Another god of Haano, and one quite prominent also in Tongatabu Island, was Haele Feke.

The sanctuary of this god in Haano was located on the tract which was owned by the Tui Kanokupolu and was under the care of the matapule Kioa. Haele Feke was thought to know beforehand what was about to occur. The coming of the god was indicated by an octopus (*feke*) coming from the sea to the tract where the priest lived. When an octopus thus came, the Tui Kanokupolu's matapule Kioa brought tapa and coconut leaf mats (*takapau*). The mats were placed on the ground and the tapa on top of them, so that the incarnation of the god might rest upon them. The octopus in which the god became incarnate might be either a white or a brown octopus. The priest of the god was himself named Feke (Octopus). After the message of the god had been delivered the priest took the octopus from the pile of tapa to the water. The coming ashore of the octopus was regarded as a harbinger of coming events and such a visit was followed by some anxiety on the part of the people. On one occasion a number of sick people died a few days after the visit of the god. It was then believed that the visit was ominous of their forthcoming death. It is said that the house of the priest was half a mile from the beach and on a site called Fotuamua. It seems inconceivable that an octopus could travel such a distance overland. It would seem more likely that he was received at the beach by the priest. The Tongan informant, from whom the above information was obtained, was unable to say whether the god Haele Feke was male or female.

Deities of Moungaone Island

There were two brother gods in Moungaone. Moso was the name of the elder, Pusipapanga the younger; their father was Tutumatua; the mother, Finetaunganoa. Toke was the priest for both gods. Their incarnations were human in form and manifested themselves in one house on the tract Nukutuli. They lived in a rock on Moungaone called Mosomaka, which was about ten feet high, round and hollow and could be entered. It was tapu; people dared not go near it under penalty of death. The god Moso was the same as Moso in Samoa. The priest Toke shook when inspired and

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told the people that the gods wished pigs and other food, and when they saw the priest shaking they knew the god wanted something. There is no descendant of the present Toke living in Moungaone to-day. Kava Moungaone is the chief of Moungaone, and the two gods were his patrons.

A third deity of Moungaone was the fish god Fakapatu (26, p. 81).

Deities of Nomuka Island

Folautaofi was a god of Nomuka living in a hill called Fungaholu. The people prayed to this god and if anyone was sick, a person of his family sacrificed a little finger to the god. If a boat came from another place and then wanted to return but could not because of strong wind, the people thought it was because the god was living in the top of the mast of the vessel. The mast was then taken down, when the wind quieted and the sea became smooth, so that they had a good day to go, the mast was set up again. In the hill is a big hole with many human bones. It is thought that Folautaofi lived in this hole and ate men. The "boat" of the god was the *kukafatu*, a shellfish which is not eaten by the people.

Fehuluni, a deity who appears in various parts of the kingdom, is a frequenter of Nomuka especially (p. 292).

Deities of Uiha Island

Of the several deities of Uiha concerning whom I obtained information, Hikuleo (p. 292) and Tokeimoana (9, p. 234) have been to some extent described. Tokeimoana (Eel-in-the-ocean) became incarnate in the eel, as his name implies.

Tokeimoana's house, called Hakaumama (Reef-of-the-world), was in the bush on a tract called Fongolongo. A priest named Hakaumama lived there and was fed there and told the people whatever the god wanted. Sometimes the priest would say to the people, "The god has arrived and is desirous of dining on pork." Thereupon the people would bake a pig and give it to him. Or he would demand some tapa; whereupon they would cut off a piece and give it to him.

When there was any sickness, a healthy man or woman was brought to the priest to have a little finger amputated and taken to the god's house and offered as a sacrifice. The person selected was a child of the sick person's mother's brother (*tuasina*), in other words, an inferior cross-cousin. Some of the sick got well.

Taufaahau (afterwards King George I) and his family bowed down before the god Tokeimoana. They were forbidden to eat sea eel, but the people who were not worshippers might eat it. The people who worshipped this god had to lie exposed on the spot where the eel had been broiled or baked even if the fire was still burning. If they knew it was the place where their "god" had been killed they would go off in another direction so as to avoid coming close to it. Whenever the eel in which the god was incarnate crawled about on dry land, the people assembled at the god's house and talked to it and when it returned to the water they left.

Haveakai was another Uiha god but was worshipped only at Felemea. The priests of this god, after conversion to Christianity, bore the name Malakai. I could not learn the Tongan name. The priest is said to have manifested the usual trembling when the god entered him. People near death were brought to him and finger sacrifices offered by some one of the sick person's relatives. So far as I can learn the operation of cutting off a finger joint was never performed by the priest himself, but always by one of the supplicants. The informant did not know what animal constituted the "boat" of the god. Offerings of food brought by the people to this god would be completely consumed by Malakai, if he were inspired, or as the Tongan informant put it, he could

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eat everything because his god was in him. To Haveakai, and to other Tongan gods, a huge root of kava was an invariable present, as it is to a great chief. Such a sized root was called *konga kava*.

The priest of the god Kafoiaatu was named Maumui and his home was in the tract Manaiange, in Uiha, where he had a house. He possessed whale ivory, which was kept in a fine mat, and black tapa. The fine mat was placed on the black tapa, and then wrapped in a piece of ordinary tapa, and no one was allowed to go near the place where it was kept.

This deity was also the god of the chief Malupo of Uiha, and he and the people prayed to Kafoiaatu. When they went to offer sacrifice they would wear Tahitian chestnut leaves strung around their necks. They would sit outside the god's house and pray from there. They had also plain tapa (*lou-fetaaki*) wound around their heads. No chief ever offered any sacrifice, but the matapule did.

The bird of the god is the fruit dove *kulukulu* (*Ptilopus porphyraceus*) and the spirit of the god entered the *kulukulu*. If this dove flew and roosted in a tree, noise of any kind would be forbidden nearby. When Kafoiaatu entered Maumui, he shivered and cried and changed and became white like a corpse. If anyone was on the point of death and a person's finger was cut off and given as an offering to Kafoiaatu and that offering was accepted, the person recovered.

Another Uiha deity was the god Taufamangumoetoto.

His priest was Kakala. His tract was Finetofusi and he had a house on it. The things he left in this house were a shield (*pa*) and a club. The bird of the god was the *kaleva* (*Eudynamis taitiensis*) and he often entered into this bird. This god hated dogs. The people prayed and sacrificed to him. If there was any sickness, or a person near death, they would then cut off somebody's finger and take it to Taufamangumoetoto and if the sacrifice were accepted, the person would live. If sacrifice were to be made the people wore a string of *hoi* leaves round their necks and then went and offered sacrifice to the god. It was forbidden that they enter the god's house and they would sit outside. This god belonged to Tuita Toluafetupu and his family and was regarded as very sacred (*toputapu aupito*). It was forbidden for anyone to make any noise near, or to enter, the god's premises.

Another god in Uiha was called Foliaki of Pulotu.

This god belonged to Malupo and his family. His priest was Havea who lived in a house on the island Uiha; but apparently the shrine of the god was on Tatafa Island. He had a basket as the shrine (*fakafaanga*) and container of his sacred objects of whale ivory and shells. He also had a pigeon (*lupe, Globicera pacifica*) which he would let loose. The pigeon would go to Tatafa Island and the people would go to the pigeon. Their gatherings all took place at the Sia Hinefaitehina. If anyone was ill he and his relatives would string the chestnut leaves and wear them around their necks and go to the god and make their sacrifices near his shrine.

This god's food consisted of yams, pork, and other things, and he would drink the young coconuts. He detested the name of Fatafehi and it was never mentioned in Uiha. For the same reason the name Manumataongo Polau Faivaka was never called.

When this god entered Havea, the priest is said to shiver and change, and his face to become red, and his manner utterly different. Kava was not served to Havea in the ordinary kava cup, but in a folded banana leaf. He had scraped coconut for relish (*fono*) and this was folded up in banana leaves. After he had partaken of the kava, he would lift up his relish and eat it all, not leaving a crumb.

All noise, such as whistling and clapping, was forbidden at this god's place.

There were two other Uiha deities whose names and sex the informant did not know. One of these deities had a house on a tract called Pulemoui,

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fect. As it was more common among the aged than the young, some of us were of opinion that it was occasioned by the death of their parents, or some other near relation. But Mr. Wales one day met with a man, whose hands were both perfect, of such an advanced age, that it was hardly possible his parents could be living. They also burn or make incisions in their cheeks, near the cheek bone. The reason of this was equally unknown to us.

Wilson (66, pp. lii, liii) and Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 210) describe well the process of finger sacrifice and tell of children competing for the privilege of sacrificing for some sick relative.

The sacrifice of human beings was resorted to on the following occasions: (1) Sometimes to secure the recovery of a great chief from illness, (2) following the death of a great chief when his widows might be strangled, or anciently perhaps burned alive, (3) at the funeral of a great chief, when the undertaker and (or) certain commoners would be imprisoned in the great stone burial vault, and left there to die, (4) at the dedication of certain temples, (5) perhaps on the occasion of the launching of certain great double vessels. The carving of living victims appears not to have been in the nature of a sacrifice (26, pp. 34, 192).

Sacrifices to the gods to secure the recovery of a great chief often consisted of one or more of the chief's own children by women of inferior rank. Children of low rank who were liable to be sacrificed were called *tuputalinafi*. A sacrifice for the recovery of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui is described by Wilson (66, pp. 238, 239). Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 208) describes others. A sacrifice was made for the old chief Fatu of Tongatabu, father of Tungi I. Fatu was very ill, and his sister's son Tavake (Fatu's *fahu*) ordered that his own son be strangled as an offering. The strangling did not take place in the sick man's house but outdoors. The victim with his two executioners was covered with a huge piece of tapa. When the strangling cord had done its work the trio were uncovered and the corpse of the victim carried into the house of the god Pulotu Katoa. The sacrifice was of no avail, for the god, speaking through his shaking priest, predicted Fatu's death, which shortly occurred. According to Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 410) a man destined for sacrifice was called *tangata tapu*.

The strangling of widows of great chiefs which was the custom at the end of the eighteenth century, may have been due to Fijian influence (41, vol. 2, p. 209; 66, p. 240). Some evidence that burning alive was an earlier method appears in Samoan tales dealing with Tonga (36, vol. 1, pp. 94, 344). Whether this custom can be connected with the suttee of India, I cannot say, but it seems quite possible that the burning may have been a cultural feature brought from the continent and later supplanted by the strangling cord of Fiji; or possibly strangling may be traced westward through Micronesia and connected with the custom in ancient Japan. Hearn (29, p. 314)

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his head on his left shoulder caught hold of his bamboo pillow with his right hand ready to strike the rat as soon as it came within reach. Slowly, but with a seeming purpose, the rat crept down the post and suddenly with a swing of his pillow Hina's father hit the rat fair and square. He got up to look for it but nothing could be found, not even a blood stain and yet he struck the rat. At the same time the wailing (*tangi*) announcing death arose in the house where Hina's mother was. 774

"Well, Latu," I asked, "what had the rat to do with it?" He gave me a withering glance of contempt, lit another match, and answered in tense tones. "That rat, Tama, was the spirit of Hina's mother coming to bid her child farewell."

The other day a man called Fine was riding from Pukotala to here (Haano) and just inside this town he had to pass the graveyard known as Hokihoki or Tukia, where his cousin, Tukia, the son of Vake—mentioned elsewhere, lay buried. The pony took a sudden fright at something and started to bolt, with the result that Fine got knocked off and rendered unconscious. His version of the accident is as follows, "I was coming along gently from Pukotala and just as I was passing Hokihoki, Tukia rose up, caught hold of the bridle and dragged the horse along, when suddenly he gave me a blow on the side of my head and I knew no more. I must have done Tukia some injury when he was alive or have spoken evilly of him since he was dead, but I do not remember." The people here firmly believe that Fine was knocked off by ghosts, and in broad daylight too. 775

In July 1909, William Maealiuaki, Governor of Haapai, was taken sick in Lifuka. The so called medico wasn't sure if it was paralysis or heart disease! But anyhow, one midday the Governor called out that somebody had entered the window and was pulling the mosquito curtain down. His wife rushed into the room, but nobody was there, but standing on the grass plot in front of the house was a man dressed in guardsman's uniform. The figure had its back to the woman and as she moved forward it vanished. Since Maealiuaki's death the natives have it, that evil spirits were the cause of his death. This same vision also scared a woman who should have gone to the funeral and remained there afterwards with the widow, as is the Tongan custom, but neglected to do so. On the day of the funeral she was surprised to see a man standing at her doorway; half frightened, she closed the door in the intruder's face, only to see it appear immediately at the door on the other side of the house. That decided her, she packed off post haste to the funeral. [761]

When I told the natives in the town of Fakakakai of the Governor's death, they said, "The mist on the water this morning was a sure sign." And so it holds in Tonga: to see a mist on the sea in the early morning forbodes the death of some high chief. 763 821

DIVINATION

A number of terms apply to divination. To forewarn, to premonish is *talakeikapa*. The predicting of future success or failure by appropriate incidents taken as signs is *talotalo*. For instance, a medical practitioner calls to treat a sick boy, finds him asleep. "Oh!" says the practitioner, "his sleeping is my *talo*. I shall cure the boy." The ability to foretell, a sort of inward light, is *kikite*. It differs from mana, but is allied to dreaming (*misi*) in character. Something (a spirit or god, one informant thought) comes to the diviner (*tongafisi*) and tells him what will happen tomorrow 787

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If a girl with absent lover sneezes frequently it is a sign she is loved. The girl will say to herself: "He loves me." In addition, if anyone sneezes it is regarded as a sign that someone is talking about the sneezer or that someone is in love with the sneezer, and a common comment of bystanders is, "Kuo ofa mai" (there is love for this one). Sneezing at times presages misfortune. Thus, if a woman making tapa sneezes and some one is very ill in her family at the time, it is a sign that the sick person will soon die. Sneezing when asleep is also an omen of death. If the sneezer lies on his right side, the death will be on the father's side of the family, if on his left side on the mother's side of the family, if on his back it is a sign of the sneezer's own death. The evil portent of sneezing on the eve of an important undertaking is well illustrated by Mariner (41, vol. 1, p. 440).

Shadows seen in a cave called Anafakaata, at Haasini, Tongatabu, are portentous of either health or death. Upon entering this cave usually a number of shadows of the visitor is seen. If only one or three shadows appear, it is a sign that death is near to the one so shadowed; if two or four shadows appear, good health is assured. Shadows are not commonly ominous.

The appearance of an illuminated vessel at night was anciently, and still is, regarded as an omen of the death of a person of rank. Such a ghost vessel is called a *vakaloa*. In the first half of 1921 an illuminated "steamer" was seen off Lifuka Island a few nights prior to the arrival of the regular passenger steamer. It is said to have been seen by many people. It was probably a real steamer, but at any rate a few months later the ailing wife of the Governor of Haapai died. Mr. W. H. Murley relates that on the night previous to the death of Maealiuaki, the Governor of Haapai, a man called Osai and his wife were fishing on the island Uoleva (the adjoining island south of Lifuka) when suddenly they saw a sailing boat bearing up from the southeast and lighted with various colors. They waited to see no more and promptly fled into the bush.

Very loud thunder accompanied by much lightning presages war or other dire disaster. Thunder in December foretells the approach of the *o* fish. Thunder during a heavy windstorm which people apprehend might turn into a hurricane, is a sign that it will not. The last two statements seem to be in the nature of empirical observations rather than true omens. There was said to have been no individual who especially interpreted the thunder and lightning omens. An old poem refers to "thunder giving omen of war" and to Toutai (Navigator) Ula's "thunder from the west."

A land fog presages the death of a high chief. Such a fog is said to have preceded the death of the late king, George II. Murley, quoted above, mentions an ominous sea fog.

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Certain natural phenomena, though not being regarded as ominous, sometimes caused alarm. Earthquakes were believed to be caused by the movements of one of the Maui who is thought to support the earth. The apparent movement of the sun to the northern tropic was observed, though not the motive for alarm or ceremony. When the sun was farthest north the season was called *faahi tau momoko* (cold season). It marked the beginning of the year and the time of yam planting. When the sun was at the southern tropic the season was called *faahi tau mafana* (warm season).

An expected eclipse of the moon which occurred in October, 1920, though causing no alarm, was regarded as indication of strong wind in a few days. The moon eclipse is called *mate mahina* (death of the moon). Similarly an eclipse of the sun is called *mate laa*. Apparently the infrequency of sun eclipses is one reason why they cause alarm. One occurred in 1918 and was evidently the first seen by many people. Although they had been forewarned by a visiting astronomer, intense alarm prevailed. The informant who had never seen one before, and who was in the bush at the time, ran for his village as fast as possible. He said the ancient belief was that the sun was a god and was angry with people and showed anger by going out. Evidently some of this belief still survived in 1918.

The activities of certain birds and lizards were believed to be especially pregnant with indications of forthcoming events. The Tongans, even to-day, take cognizance of these movements to an extent that suggests the Malaysian observation of animal movements. The gecko (*moko*) is everywhere in Tonga an omen animal. It is regarded particularly as a barometer of impending weather conditions. If it remains quiet, good weather is indicated, if it is very active, a storm is imminent. This little lizard, sacred to the god Tui Haa Fakafanua, was taken aboard vessels anciently as a barometer. Another weather indicator is the frigate bird (*lofa*), rare in Tonga, whose appearance presages a gale or hurricane. The barking of dogs at night without evident cause is a sign of the presence of ghosts. Dogs bore place and personal names anciently and were fondled and talked to by their masters (usually chiefs). There was no belief that it was dangerous to address conversation to a dog.

Birds played by far the most important part as omen givers. The calling of the owl (*lulu*) immediately after lamplighting is a sign of a pregnant woman in the house, and if the owl calls over a house in the middle of the night, it is a sign of impending death. If the gallinule (*kalae*) cries close to a house, it is also considered a notification of impending death. A number of *fuleheu* birds (*Ptilotis carunculata*) flying together in a particular formation is called *fata* (bier) and is a sign of death. Another evil omen of the *fuleheu*, called *sipa*, consists in a number of them sounding the note of alarm. If a cock crows, soon after the time when the fowls

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have gone to roost, that is a sign of death, but if another cock answers him, it is all right and nothing will happen. The cocks will crow when they are going to roost, but the ominous crowing is after that, when no sound is expected from them. Later on again if the cock crows, that is called *uua hausia* (dewy? crowing) and has nothing ominous about it. When a number of fowls make the clucking (?) noise called *kotoko*, passing on from one place to another, the sound being taken up by successive groups of the birds, that is called *kotoko folau*, and is a sign that boats or ships are about to arrive.

There are many omens also connected with the kingfisher (*sikota*). If a kingfisher flies towards a person or flies continually about him, it is bad luck and he should turn back. If it flies in the direction he is going, or across his path, it is good luck. The following incident reported by W. H. Murley is characteristic of Tongan behavior:

> Whilst sitting in the house the other mid-day deep in conversation with a middle-aged Tongan, a young kingfisher (*sikota*) flew into the room, completed a circle of it and disappeared out of the other door, simultaneously with the Tongan's rising and shifting his quarters to the veranda. On my asking the reason of his getting out of the house the Tongan (Latu by name) replied, in most impressive tones "Tama, that is a bird of ill omen and brings spirits with it. Take care that some harm does not befall you ere long." I only laughed and said I didn't believe in such things. "Yes," he went on, "You may laugh but I tell you that evil spirits come with rubbish and lizards and rats, as well as with kingfishers."

The poem by Fusitouone mentions certain evil bird and insect omens in the following terms.

> In the morning we go for our walk;
> And strikes behind the kingfisher,
> And ticks in the day the *pakia* insect,
> And squeaks down the evil owl,
> And the rail cries on the road;
> We two will return accursed.

DREAMS

Dreams (*misi*) seem to have been of little importance in forecasting events.

The following scanty, and in part contradictory, data refer to the interpretation of dreams, so far as they bear on the future:

> A dream is often regarded as a warning by a spirit of some impending disaster. Thus, a dream that a person falls overboard and drowns, is likely to come true. The dream, however, may not augur death for the one dreamt about, but for one of his family. To dream of a neighbor's house burning down is believed not only to presage such a burning, but perhaps one or two deaths besides. At times dreams go by opposites. Thus a dream in which one appeared very happy might presage his death.
>
> The kind of dream that comes true is one in which a person (alive or dead) comes and tells the dreamer something that is quite clear and distinct. When one

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A woman whose husband had recently died came with her children to a missionary. She said the children were sickly. Consumption appeared the obvious trouble, but she wanted the missionary to pray with them, maintaining that there was a curse somewhere. She had learned from conversation in their village that the children's grandfather had had a pact (held the book, *puke tohi*) with his *tuofefine* (sister or female cousin) and had concluded that this was the reason for all the disaster. 753 [164]

A man had been sick for sometime, and so all his family were cross-examined as to their acts. It developed that one of his sons had gone to Niuafoou some time before with his cousin's wife. He was supposed to look after her on the voyage and performed his duties too tenderly. That was the reason of his father's illness, so it was thought, but whether the son's confession did the old man any good was not learned. [835]

On page 334 I have recounted an incident in which the child of a Tui Tonga became ill because of the intrigue of its mother, while the Tui Tonga was in Haapai. Certain other acts were believed to have serious consequences for one doing them. (See pp. 18, 118, 335, 343, 344.) [837]

Dreams of a certain type are believed to cause certain ailments. (See p. 337.) [828]

To kill the white tern when on a voyage is believed to bring illness. To point at a rainbow, or at the setting sun, is believed to give one elephantiasis in the arm. It is not injurious, however, to look at a rainbow. [825] [821]

If women, bathing in a certain pool or passing near the western cemetery at Maufanga, Tongatabu, saw a gecko, they said that Tui Haa Fakafanua (a god who becomes incarnate in the *gecko*) had entered one of them because he liked her. Pining away and death were the result. Even today, when a girl at Maufanga dies, it is often said that Tui Haa Fakafanua has caused her death. Convent girls from the Hahake district of Tongatabu are said to be particularly liable to such attacks because the Hahake people and the Maufanga people were formerly at enmity. 753 776 787 [761]

Other gods or demons were also believed to enter into living persons and cause illness. To drive out such an unwelcome tenant, the affected part of the body was tightly held and massaged, working the demon to an extremity of the body to force him out, at the same time using magic words. [755]

In November, 1920, there occurred an alleged attack by the spirit of a dead man. 753 775

A number of girls from the convent at Maufanga, Tongatabu, were gathering shellfish at Anana, in the lagoon at Tongatabu. One of the girls said that she was attacked by the spirits of three of her deceased relatives, who approached her in a boat while she was standing on the reef. Her symptoms were bleeding from the nose and cramps in the legs, and she declared that her deceased mother's brother, David Alatoa, struck her on the nose. The attack was of course not seen by her companions.

Mr. W. H. Murley relates the following: 763 775

A man from Vavau, a short time ago, died suddenly in a village called Fakakakai in Haapai from hemorrhage of the lungs. A man from the village came into the store on the day he died and was discussing the matter with a woman from here (Pukotala) in the course of which she said that he (the deceased) might have been struck by evil spirits and then enquired if he had any relatives buried here. The answer was that his mother had died in Fakakakai, on hearing this the woman immediately said, "There, that is the reason of his sudden death." [165]

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The Tongans believe that the dead have the ability to cause the sudden death of anyone. I have known many instances in which a person has dreamed of a dead relative several times in succession and, as a means of stopping it and preventing the dead from killing the living, has gone to the graveyard and dug up the bones, in some cases whilst there was still flesh upon them, and thrown them into the sea, or chopped them up. This method is looked upon as infallible.

When a man is taken ill his sons go as far away as possible, until he is dead, so that the disease will not attack them. The house and bed he died in are usually burned and the sons coming after will not walk over the spot for fear of infection! Anyone else may do so with impunity.

Food carried over a graveyard, as by a small child who did not realize what he was doing, was not eaten, as death or other dire results would ensue.

OATHS

An oath (*fuakava*) was also called *lea tuki* (*lea*, speech; *tuki*, a superstitious practice by which thieves and other miscreants are said to be accursed), according to Baker (2). Apparently Baker refers to the administering of an oath, which, if taken by a thief, would result in his death. The conception of the oath seems to be ancient, and the idea is quite deep-seated that swearing falsely results in death.

While I was in Tonga a gold finger ring was lost in a girls' boarding school. Inquiry failing to locate it, the girls suggested that they be put on oath, preferably by the police, for then if the thief were one of themselves and took oath, she would die. Presumably, however, she could have averted such a fate by confession.

The Bible is at times used in sealing a pact, often between a man and a woman. "They hold the book," as the Tongans express it. Such a pact is called *puke tohi*. It is frowned upon by the clergy and in general is regarded as a wrong deed, which may act as a curse upon the families of the book holders.

Examples of oaths occur in certain Tongan poems. "Lest my mother be sterile" is put in the mouth of the Samoan chief Sinilau (26, p. 148). The poet Fusitouone sings: "Listen while I swear by the bamboo that waves."

TAPU

In Tonga, as elsewhere in Polynesia, distinction is made between things inherently tapu, such as sanctuaries and the persons of chiefs, and things which are temporarily tapu, such as food products reserved for a feast. Temporary tapus may be placed by a chief, by a priest, or by a modern practitioner skilled in curing as well as "causing" certain ailments. Tapus placed by chiefs seem to have been backed by no supernatural sanction. Tapus placed by a priest called for the vengeance of a god upon the tapu

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profusion of tears; they sometimes swoon away for a few minutes: the height of the paroxysm generally lasts from a quarter to half an hour. These are also called fits of inspiration, and are firmly believed to be visitations from some god who accuses the party of neglect of religious duty, not by an apparent audible warning, but by an inward compunction of conscience. But these things are also common enough in all parts of the world, at home as well as abroad. Some of the natives are such adepts at this sort of mysterious conversation with the divinities, that they can bring on a fit of inspiration whenever they feel their mind at all so disposed. Mr. Mariner, indeed, did once witness a rare instance of a man who was disappointed in this particular: finding himself, as he thought, about to be inspired, some cava was brought to him (as is usual on such occasions), but, in a little while, he was obliged to acknowledge that the god would not visit; at which all present were greatly surprised, and so the cava was taken away again.

These imaginations, however, have sometimes produced very serious consequences: to give an instance; on one occasion a certain chief, a very handsome young man, became inspired, but did not yet know by whom; on a sudden he felt himself exceedingly low spirited, and

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787 shortly afterwards swooned away; when recovered from this, still finding himself very ill, he
154 was taken to the house of a priest *, who told
755 the sick chief that it was a woman, mentioning
763 her name, who had died two years before, and was now in Bolotoo†, that had inspired him; that she was deeply in love with him, and wished him to die (which event was to happen in a few days,) that she might have him near her: the chief replied that he had seen the figure of a female two or three successive nights in his sleep, and had begun to suspect he was inspired by her, though he could not tell who she was. He died two days afterwards. Mr. Mariner visited the sick chief three or four times, at the house of the priest, and heard the latter foretel his death and the occasion of it.

787 Now we are upon this subject it may not be
154 amiss to mention that Finow's son, who at this period of our history was at the Navigator's islands, used to be inspired by the spirit‡ of

[793] * It is customary to take sick persons to the house of a priest that the will of the gods may be known The priest becomes immediately inspired, and remains almost constantly in that state while the sick person is with him. If he does not get better in two or three days he is taken to another priest &c.

[775] † Bolotoo is the name they give to their paradise, and is supposed to be an island to the north-westward.

[775] [565] [776] ‡ The souls of deceased nobles become gods of the second rank in Bolotoo.

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The king and his army being arrived at their fortress, the sixty bodies were shared out to the different gods that had houses dedicated to them within the place. In performing this ceremony the people formed a large circle on the ground, with the king at the upper end. The bodies being placed in a row before Finow, a man rose up, and counting the bodies, declared aloud their number. The king then ordered that so many should be allotted to such a god, and so many to such another, and so of the rest. The names of these gods were Tali y Toobo, Tooi fooa Bolotoo, Lau file Tonga, Toobo lalo Tonga, and Chenitacala: the two first only are imaginary beings, the others are souls of departed chiefs; the last of all is a goddess, the soul of a female chief of that name. This being done, the bodies were carried away, and laid before the houses of the different gods to whom they were allotted: where, after they had remained three or four hours, those who had left relations among the garrison of Neafoo were carried away and buried; and the remainder, which were only nine or ten in number, were conveyed to the water side, and there disposed of in different ways: two or three were hung up on a tree; a couple were burnt; three were cut open from motives of curiosity to see

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whether their insides were sound and entire*, and to practise surgical operations upon, hereafter to be described; and lastly, two or three were cut up to be cooked and eaten, of which about forty men partook. This was the second instance of cannibalism that Mr. Mariner witnessed, but the natives of these islands are not to be called cannibals on this account: so far from its being a general practice, it is on the contrary generally held in abhorrence, and where it is occasionally done, it is only by young warriors, who do it in imitation of the Fiji islanders, attaching to it an idea that there is something in it designating a fierce, warlike, and manly spirit. When they returned to Neafoo after their inhuman repast, most persons who knew it, particularly women, avoided them, saying, "Iá-whé moe ky-tangata," away! you are a man-eater.

The bodies being thus all disposed of, Finow began to make enquiries respecting the alleged treason of Lioofau, and finding no one capable

* It is a firm belief with the people that if a man infringes upon the *Taboo* (see p. 141) or commits any sacrilege, his liver or some other viscus is liable to become enlarged and schirrous: they therefore often open dead bodies out of curiosity, to see if they have been sacrilegious in their lifetime. The natives of these islands are particularly subject to schirrous tumours.

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the Hapai chiefs and warriors, that were with the king, appeared under arms, as also a certain Vavaoo chief, named Paoónga, a relation and confidant of Finow; all the rest of the Vavaoo chiefs and matabooles remaining unarmed, lest they might excite in Finow a suspicion that they meant to take hostile measures. About mid-day, or a little after, the large canoe, in which were the prisoners, lashed hand and foot, pushed out to sea, under the command of Lolo Hea Malohi, an adopted son of Finow. They had on board three old small canoes, in a very leaky, rotten state, in which the prisoners were destined to be put, and thus to be allowed gradually to sink, leaving the victims to reflect on their approaching dissolution, without having it in their power to help themselves.

The distance they had to go was about two leagues: the weather being calm, the canoe was obliged to be paddled most of the way. In the mean while, some conversation passed between the prisoners, particularly between Nowfaho and Booboonoo. Nowfaho observed to Booboonoo, that it would have been much better if they had never made a peace with Finow, and, to a certain degree, he upbraided Booboonoo with not having followed his advice in this particular: to this the latter replied, that he

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did not at all regret the late peace with Finow, for, being his relation, he felt himself attached to his interests, and as to his own life, he thought it of no value, since the king did not think his services worth having. Nowfaho stated, that he had a presentiment of his fate that very morning; for, as he was going along the road from Felletoa to Macave, he met a native woman of Hapai, and as he passed, he felt a strong inclination, he knew not from what cause, to kill her; and this bias of his mind was so powerful, that he could not help turning back and effecting his purpose; at the same time he felt a secret presentiment that he was going to die, and this murder that he had committed appeared now to be a piece of vengeance on the Hapai people, weak, indeed, in itself, yet better than no revenge at all. Nowfaho, among other things, lamented that his friend Booboonoo had not repaired to the Fiji islands when peace was first made, and, by that means, have preserved his life: as to his own safety, he said it was not a matter of much consequence; he only lamented that he was not about to die in an honourable way. Booboonoo expressed sentiments to the same purpose. Cacahoo now and then joined in the conversation, remarking, that he only lamented his death inasmuch as no opportunity had been

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afforded him of revenging himself upon his enemies, by sacrificing a few of them.

They were eighteen prisoners on board, of whom the greater part, before they arrived at the place where they were to be sunk, begged that the manner of their death might be changed to the more expeditious one of having their brains knocked out with a club, or their heads cleaved with an axe: this was granted them, and the work of execution was immediately begun. Having dispatched three in this way, it was proposed, for the sake of convenience, that the remainder, who begged to be thus favoured, should be taken to a neighbouring small island to be executed; which being agreed on, they disputed by the way who should kill such a one, and who another. Such was the conversation, not of warriors, for knocking out brains was no new thing to them, but of others not so well versed in the art of destruction, who were heartily glad of this opportunity of exercising their skill without danger; for, coward-like, they did not dare to attempt it in the field of battle. The victims being brought on shore, nine were dispatched at nearly the same time, which, with the three killed in the canoe, made twelve, who desired this form of death. The remaining six being chiefs, and staunch warriors of superior

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bravery, scorned to beg any favour of their enemies, and were accordingly taken out to sea, lashed in two rotten canoes, which they had on board, three in each, and left to reflect on their fate; in the mean time their destroyers remained at a little distance to see them sink. Booboonoo, whilst in this situation, said, that he only died unhappy on account of his infant son, who would be left friendless and unprotected; but, calling to a young chief in the larger canoe, of the name of Talo, begged, for the sake of their gods, that he would befriend his child, and never see him want either clothes or food suitable to the son of a chief; upon which Talo made a solemn promise to take the most attentive care of him, and Booboonoo seemed quite satisfied. Nowfaho lamented the sad disasters of that day, saying how many great and brave men were dying an ignominious death, who, some time before, were able to make the whole army of Finow tremble: he lamented, moreover, that he had ever retreated from his enemies, and wished that, on such an occasion, he had faced about, however inferior in strength, and sold his life at a high price, instead of living a little longer, to die thus a shameful death: he earnestly requested them to remember him in the most affectionate manner to his wife. Cacahoo swore heartily at Fi-

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687 now, and all the chiefs of Hapai, cursing them
763 in the most bitter manner *, and their fathers
727 for begetting them, and heaping maledictions
669 upon all their generation; he went on in this manner, cursing and swearing at his enemies, till the water came up to his mouth, and, even then, he actually threw back his head for the opportunity of uttering another curse, spluttering the water forth from his lips, till it bereft him for ever of the power of speech. They were about twenty minutes sinking, after which the large canoe returned immediately to Vavaoo.

687 Booboonoo and Nowfaho were both men that
157 bore a most amiable character: in time of war they were brave and enterprising; in time of peace, gentle and humane. The conduct of
[682] Nowfaho, in killing the poor Hapai woman,
[158] seems to make much against his humanity;

[195] * The curses used among the Tonga people are very nu-
[264] merous; but, for the most part, they are rather horrible
[266] commands than curses, and are, generally, in regard to maltreating one's relations, or eating one's superior relations; for it is considered a crime to eat food which a superior relation has touched; how much more, therefore, to eat that relation himself! For a sample;—"Bake your grandfather till his skin turns to cracknel, and gnaw his skull for your share!"—"Go, and ravish your own sister!"—"Dig up your father by moonlight, and make soup of his bones," &c. &c. Many of their sayings, in this way, are too indelicate to mention.

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but, as it was so contrary to his general sentiments and conduct, we ought to have the liberality to suppose, that it was a sudden frenzy of the mind, which, at the moment, he could no more help, than a man in convulsions can help the violent agitation of the body. Let this, however, be as it may, it is certain that he and Booboonoo were both admired for their mild and benevolent disposition, and were gaining every day, more and more, the love of the people, which, no doubt, caused the king to be jealous of them, lest their increasing power should ultimately annihilate his. Nowfaho's desire of revenge was, of course, considered (in their state of society) a virtuous and manly sentiment. If we attend to their conversation at the approach of death, we shall find them both expressing sentiments of disinterested friendship for each other: Booboonoo is quite unhappy at leaving his infant son, and recommends him strongly to the care of Talo by all that is sacred and religious; Nowfaho desires to be affectionately remembered to his wife; these are not sentiments that belong to gross and savage minds. As to Cacahoo, he certainly was not so much famed for his benevolence, as for his prodigious strength and great personal courage; yet still he was much beloved and respected; and several of the En-

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"gods of Bolotoo." Every day he visited the sick girl, occasionally sat down by her, took her hand and shed tears. During this time the mataboolas frequently repaired to the house of the priest, and laying cava before him, consulted him privately. On one of these occasions, Finow not being present, he told them that if they knew why the child was sick they would not come thus to invoke him: he then declared, in general terms, that it was for the common good. Finow, being informed of this, addressed the priest at the consultation on the following morning, asking him (or rather the god within him) what he meant by the general good? "If "my spirits are oppressed, are not those of all "my subjects so likewise? but if the gods have "any resentment against us, let the whole "weight of vengeance fall on my head: I fear "not their vengeance,—but spare my child; "and I earnestly entreat you, *Toobo Totái*, to "exert all your influence with the other gods, "that I alone may suffer all the punishment "they desire to inflict." To this the god returned no answer, and the priest retiring among the people, the company separated.

As soon as Finow arrived at his house, his spirits no doubt much agitated, and his pride, in all probability, much hurt, he laid down on his mat, and felt himself much indisposed. His

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illness hourly increased, and feeling, as he said, a secret presentiment of approaching death, his female attendants ran out and informed his chiefs and matabooles, who in consequence immediately repaired to his house, and found him unable to speak; for as soon as he saw them he endeavoured in vain to give utterance to his ideas, and seemed choked by the vehemence of his inward emotions. At length a flood of tears coming to his relief, he acknowledged the justice of the gods, but lamented greatly that he was about to meet his death on a bed of sickness instead of going to brave it in the field of battle. After a little pause, he said in a calm but firm tone of voice, "I tremble at the approaching "fate of my country: for I perceive plainly, "that after my death the state of affairs will "be much altered for the worse. I have had "daily proofs that the obedience of my subjects "is not excited by their love but by their "fears."

Several chiefs and matabooles who, owing to the crowd, were not able to get into the house, but overheard what passed, went immediately to the priest of *Toobó Totái*, and presenting him cava root, sat down before him. An old mataboole then addressed him, stating that they had firm belief in the power which the gods possessed of inflicting what punishment

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they chose upon mortals: but he entreated the god to use his influence with the other powers of Bolotoo, that they might not take offence at what Finow had said in the morning, which was merely spoken on the impulse of the moment, when warmly agitated with sentiments of affection for his daughter, and not from any real disrespect to the gods: he supplicated him also to have regard to the general good of the islands, and not by depriving them of Finow, to involve the whole nation in anarchy and confusion. The priest remained some time in silence, and was much affected: at length he announced that the gods of Bolotoo had, for a long time past, debated among themselves with regard to the punishment they should inflict upon Finow, for the many instances he had shewn of disobedience to religious precepts, and of exceeding disrespect for divine power; that they had at first resolved upon his death, but that he (Toobó Totái) having repeatedly interceded in his behalf, some of the other gods also took his part; in consequence of which there arose very violent dissensions in Bolotoo; not, as he explained to them, by actual fighting, for gods are immortal, and can neither be killed, wounded, nor hurt, but by urgent and potent arguments, which had occasioned, he said, the late high winds and tremendous thunder.

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der. That they had consequently come to a resolution of saving his life, seeing that his death would be a greater evil to his people than to himself, and of punishing him in another and perhaps more severe way, viz. by the death of his most dear and beloved daughter, who must therefore be inevitably taken from him: for as it had been decreed, beyond all revocation, that either he or his daughter must die, her life could not be saved without taking away his. As a sort of proof of this decree, he bade them remark that whilst Finow was at this time ill, his daughter was much better, and comparatively full of life and spirits, (which was actually the case.) To-morrow, he said, her father would be tolerably well, for the gods had not decreed his immediate death, but only a temporary illness, to impress on his mind a sense of their power, and then his daughter would relapse, and become as bad or worse than ever.

The priest being now silent, the chiefs and matabooles left him, with a strong belief of the truths he had been telling them. When they arrived at Finow's house they found him somewhat better, but did not communicate what they had heard from his priest. This however was soon rumoured among the other chiefs and matabooles, in the king's *cook-house*, where

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they generally resort for cava, and which from custom has become a sort of rendezvous to pick up or retail news. Mr. Mariner, who had been with Finow (his patron, father, and protector,) during his illness, coming to the *cook-house* and hearing what the priest had said, went out of curiosity to Finow's daughter, and was surprised to find her sitting up, eating ripe bananas, and in very good spirits, talking at intervals to her female attendants.

In the evening Finow, feeling himself for the most part recovered, visited his daughter, and found her much worse than, as he was informed, she had been in the morning. He now expressed his intention of passing the night at her house, which he accordingly did. When he awoke in the morning he felt himself perfectly recovered; but going to his daughter's mat, he found, to his utmost grief, that she was worse than ever. In the course of the morning he went down to the sea-shore, to give some orders respecting an alteration he designed in the sail of his canoe, in which he also employed himself (to distract his thoughts probably) the greater part of the day. At night he again slept at the house of his daughter; and very early the following morning gave orders for all his chiefs, matabooles, and attendants, to go on board his canoes, and gave directions for his

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daughter also to be carried on board; then following himself, made sail for the island of Ofoo, with intention of consulting *Alái Váloo*, the tutelar god of his aunt *Toe Oomoo*. They arrived after two hours sail; and immediately, on landing, went and presented cava root to the priest of that god (the name of the priest Mr. Mariner has forgotten). In the mean time the sick child was taken to the god's consecrated house. The company being seated in the presence of the priest, a bowl of cava was presented to him,—when the god said—"It is "in vain that you come here to invoke me "upon a subject on which you have obtained "all the information that it is necessary for "you to know. *Toobó Totái* has already in-"structed you in the will of the gods, and I "can communicate nothing farther." The priest having said this, Finow and his attendants rose up and went their way. In the course of the afternoon the supposed victim of divine vengeance was removed to several other consecrated houses in the same island, and was suffered to remain about half an hour or an hour in each, with the hope that she would derive benefit from the auspices of either of the deities, who were imagined to reside in those places. Removal, however, appeared to make her worse; and at length she was almost

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speechless. During the night her father, with anxious solicitude, sat by the side of her mat, watching, with sighs and tears, the progress of her disorder. The next morning, which brought no sign of returning health to enliven the hopes of an afflicted parent,—Finow gave directions to proceed to Macávĕ, the place at Vavaoo where (as the reader will recollect) *Booboonoo*, *Cacahoo*, and several other great warriors, were seized by Finow's orders. By the time they had got a little more than half way to Vavaoo, the poor child died. Immediately all the female attendants began to lament in a most woful strain, beating their breasts with violent agitation, and exhibiting every mark of sorrow and despair;—but Finow sat in silence and dejection, weeping for the fate of his daughter. In a little time they reached the coast of Vavaoo, and took the body to a large house, called Bŏóno, (six posts,) on the *malái* at Neafoo, followed by Finow, his wives, chiefs, matabooles, and attendants, all habited in mats. The body was laid out on a fine and beautiful Hamoa mat, and then washed over with a mixture of oil and water: after which it was anointed with sandal-wood oil.

It must be here noticed, that the king had determined, in the event of his daughter's death, not to bury her exactly after the Tonga

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fury, till at length that party which belonged to the side of the island on which Finow dwelt began to give way: instantly he rushed from the house in which he was seated, to reanimate his men by his presence and exertions, which he effected to such a degree, that the opposite party in their turn fell back, and were completely beaten off the ground.

This contest being now ended, the company dispersed, each to his respective home, whilst Finow retired to a small house, which had been built since his daughter's death, near Böóno (the large house on the *maláai*); and there, feeling himself much exhausted, he laid down to rest from his fatigue. He had not been long in this posture before he found himself very ill: his respiration became difficult: he turned himself repeatedly from side to side; his lips became purple, and his under jaw seemed convulsed: from time to time he groaned deeply and most horribly: all the bystanders were much affected, the women shed a profusion of tears, and the men were occupied no doubt with the thoughts of what commotion might happen in the event of his death, what blood might be spilt, and what battles won and lost. The king, in the meanwhile, seemed perfectly sensible of his situation; he attempted to speak, but the power of utterance

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was almost denied to him; one word alone could be clearly distinguished, *fonnooa* (land or country): hence it was supposed that he meant to express his anxiety respecting the mischiefs and disturbances that might happen to the country in the event of his death. After waiting a little time, finding he did not get better, the prince, and a young chief named Voogi, went out to procure one of Finow's children by a female attendant, to sacrifice it to the gods, that their anger might be appeased, and the health of its father restored*. They found the child in a neighbouring house, unconsciously sleeping in its mother's lap: they took it away by force, and retiring with it behind an adjacent Fytóca, strangled it, as quickly as possible, with a band of *gnatoo*: they then carried it, with all speed, before two consecrated houses and a grave, at each place hurrying over a short but appropriate prayer to the god to interfere with the other gods in behalf of Finow, and to accept of this sacrifice as an atonement for his crimes. This being done, they returned to the place where Finow lay, but found him with scarcely any signs of life,

* For further particulars respecting this ceremony, see p. 217. The younger Finow used often to express his regret that the gods were so relentless as to require such cruel sacrifices.

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speechless and motionless;—his heart, however, could be just felt to beat. In the meanwhile he was placed on a sort of hand-barrow, which had been made on purpose, during the time the child was strangled. Fancying there were still some hopes of his recovery, his friends carried him on this bier to different consecrated houses, although he had, almost beyond a doubt, breathed his last with violent struggles, about ten minutes before. He was first carried to the house dedicated to Táli-y-Toobó, where an appropriate prayer to the god was hurried over as quickly as possible: the corpse (for it was now perhaps nothing more, for there was no pulse at the wrist; and Mr. Mariner, applying his hand to the region of the heart, found it had ceased sensibly to beat) was conveyed to the house of the god *Toói-foo'a-Bolótoo*, where a similar prayer was preferred. Not contented with this, they next carried it to the grave of a female chief named Chinitacala, and her spirit was in like manner invoked. Some hope still remained; and his body was carried a mile and a half up the country, on the road towards Felletoa, to the residence of Tooitonga, their great divine chief, at Nioo Lolo. When arrived here, the body was conveyed to Tooitonga's cook-house, and placed over the hole in the ground where the fire is

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lighted to dress victuals: this was thought to be acceptable to the gods, as being a mark of extreme humiliation, that the great chief of all the Hapai islands, and Vavaoo, should be laid where the meanest class of mankind, the cooks, were accustomed to operate. All this time Tooitonga remained in his own house, for his high character, as a descendant of the gods, rendered it altogether unnecessary, and even degrading and improper, that he should interfere in this matter.

By this time, his friends losing all hopes, and being convinced that he was really dead, brought the body back to Neáfoo, where it was placed in the large house on the *malái*, called Böóno. In the mean while, many chiefs and warriors secretly repaired to their spears, (which were tied up in bundles,) and put them loose, ready to be seized at a moment's notice; and selecting out their clubs, arranged them, in order to be used on the urgency of occasion; expecting every moment the shout of war from one quarter or another: and if we just take a cursory view of the state of affairs, at this critical juncture, we shall find that such apprehensions were by no means groundless.

No sooner was the late How deceased, than all those principal chiefs who had, or imagined

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634 powerful claimant*. Apprehensions were also
668 entertained respecting the young chief Voogi, who assisted in strangling the child, for though it was not supposed he would lay claim to the sovereignty, yet being known to be strongly in the interest of Toobo Toa, his conduct required to be strictly watched. These were the chiefs, whose behaviour at this moment the young prince had to notice with a watchful eye. He had considerable confidence, however, in the sincerity of his uncle: Toobo Toa was at the Hapai islands:—Voona and Voogi therefore were the two whose designs he had most immediately to be apprehensive of.

Such was the state of political affairs at the
634 time of Finow's death. As soon as his body
763 was deposited on the bales of *gnatoo*, as before
152 mentioned, one of his daughters, a beautiful
593 girl of about fifteen, who stood by at the time, went almost frantic with excess of sorrow. The expressions of her grief were at first in loud and

* Finow originally had two brothers, viz. Finow Fiji, and Toobo Nuha, but by different mothers. Finow's lengthened
[553] name was Finow Ooloocalála. The proper family name is Finow, but no member of the royal family is allowed to assume the family name till his appointment to the sovereignty, unless his father choose to give it him as a sort of first name, to which his own proper name is attached, as was the case with Finow's brother, who was called Finow Fiji.

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frequent screams, or in broken exclamations: *O yaooé! ecoo tammy'é! O yaooé!* Alas!—Oh! my father!—alas!—Her sorrow was so great that, at times, she appeared quite bereft of reason; and her truly pathetic expressions of it, joined to those of the widows, and female attendants of the late king, all beating their breasts, and screaming from time to time, rendered the house truly a house of mourning, beyond the power of the imagination to picture. The place was lighted up at night, by lamps with cocoa-nut oil, (used only on such occasions) presenting a scene, if possible, still more affecting than that which happened on the occasion of Toobó Nuha's death.

In the course of the night, Mr. Mariner went into the house several times, partly out of curiosity indeed, but principally moved by feelings of regret for the loss of his great and kind patron;—for though he could not in *every* point of view admire him as a man,—yet he could not but esteem him and reverence him as a benefactor: he had received from him great and numerous favours: and notwithstanding his faults, there was a something essential in his character which commanded respect; and Mr. Mariner felt that, in losing him, he had sustained a very great loss. The prince checked him in these frequent visits to the house; urg-

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764 of respect to the departed chief; and sat on the ground, waiting for the commencement of the ceremonies usual on such extraordinary occasions.

634 In the mean time, the prince, and his uncle, 668 Finow Fiji, prepared cava at a neighbouring house, and presented it there to the priest of 787 *Toobo Totai*, out of respect to that god, who 799 was now become the tutelar deity of the young [776] prince. By the mouth of his priest the god desired him not to fear rebellion; for who should dare to rebel against a chief who was the peculiar [784] care of the powers of Bolotoo? He commanded him moreover to reflect on the circum- 761 stances of his father's death, as a salutary lesson [763] to himself: "Your father," said the divinity, "is now no more;—but why did he die?—be- "cause he was disrespectful to the gods!" The 634 conference here ended. A short time after, 661 the prince, whilst reflecting on the words of the 761 oracle, was addressed by a woman, who was sit- 784 ting behind him in waiting, and who was much respected by the late king and his family, on account of her having given him some information respecting a real or supposed conspiracy, on the part of the Vavaoo chiefs; (Booboono, Cacahoo, and others, who were seized in consequence at Macave, and afterwards put to death: see p. 276.) This woman remarked to the prince

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sive to the gods. It may appear strange that Voona was a greater chief than the son of the king, yet it is a frequent occurrence, that the king is chosen from a family not of the highest rank, on account of his superior wisdom or military skill, and this was the case with the present royal family; so that the king is often obliged to pay a certain ceremonious respect (hereafter to be noticed) towards many other chiefs (even little children), who are greater nobles than he.

The company were now all seated, habited in mats, waiting for the body of the deceased king to be brought forth. The mourners (who are always women, consisting of the female relations, widows, mistresses, and servants of the deceased, and such other females of some rank, who choose, out of respect, to officiate on the occasion), were assembled in the house, and seated round the corpse, which still lay out on the bales of *gnatoo*. They were all habited in large, old, ragged mats, the more ragged, the more fit for the occasion, as being more emblematical of a spirit broken down, or, as it were, torn to pieces by grief. Their appearance was calculated to excite pity and sorrow in the heart of any one, whether accustomed or not to such a scene: their eyes were swollen with the last night's frequent flood of grief, and still

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weeping genuine tears of regret; the upper part of their cheeks perfectly black, and swollen so that they could hardly see, with the constant blows they had inflicted on themselves with their fists; and their breasts, also, were equally bruised with their own misplaced and untimely rage.

Among the chiefs and matabooles who were seated on the *malái*, all those who were particularly attached to the late king, or to his cause, evinced their sorrow by a conduct, usual, indeed, among these people at the death of a relation, or of a great chief (unless it be that of Tooitonga, or any of his family), but which, to us, may well appear barbarous in the extreme; that is to say, the custom of cutting and wounding themselves with clubs, stones, knives, or sharp shells: one at a time, or two or three together, would run into the middle of the circle, formed by the spectators, to give these proofs of their extreme sorrow for the death, and great respect for the memory of their departed friend.

The sentiments expressed by these victims of popular superstition were to the following purpose: "Finow! I know well your mind; "you have departed to Bolótoo*, and left your

* Paradise.

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634 764 763 304 565

"people under suspicion that I, or some of "those about you, were unfaithful; but where "is the proof of infidelity? where is a single "instance of disrespect?" Then, inflicting violent blows, and deep cuts in the head with a club, stone, or knife, would again exclaim, at intervals, "Is this not a proof of my fidelity? "does this not evince loyalty and attachment "to the memory of the departed warrior?" Then, perhaps, two or three would run up, and endeavour to seize the same club, saying, with a furious tone of voice, "Behold! the land is "torn with strife! it is smitten to pieces! it is "split by revolts! how my blood boils! let us "haste and die! I no longer wish to live! your "death, Finow, shall be mine! but why did I "wish hitherto to live, it was for you alone! "it was in your service and defence, only, that "I wished to breathe! but now, alas, the "country is ruined! Peace and happiness are "at an end! your death has insured ours! "henceforth war and destruction alone can "prosper." These speeches were accompanied with a wild and frantic agitation of the body, whilst the parties cut and bruised their heads every two or three words, with the knife or club they held in their hands.

Others somewhat more calm and moderate in their grief, would parade up and down with

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rather a wild and agitated step, spinning and whirling the club about, striking themselves with the edge of it two or three times violently upon the top or back of the head*, and then, suddenly stopping, and looking stedfastly at the instrument, spattered with blood, exclaim, "Alas! my club, who could have said that you "would have done this kind office for me, and "have enabled me thus to evince a testimony of "my respect for Finow! Never, no, never, can "you again tear open the brains of his ene-"mies! Alas! what a great and mighty warrior "has fallen! Oh! Finow, cease to suspect my "loyalty; be convinced of my fidelity! But "what absurdity am I talking! if I had ap-"peared treacherous in your sight, I should "have met the fate of those numerous warriors "who have fallen victims to your just revenge: "but do not think, Finow, that I reproach "you; no! I wish only to convince you of my "innocence, for who, that has thoughts of "harming his chiefs, shall grow white-headed "like me? (an expression made use of by "some of the old men). O cruel gods! to de-"prive us of our father, of our only hope, for "whom alone we wished to live! We have, in-"deed, other chiefs, but they are only chiefs

* They understand tolerably well how to avoid the situation of the larger arteries.

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634 764 " in rank, and not like you, alas! great and " mighty in war!"

763 304 565 Such were their sentiments and conduct on this mournful occasion. Some, more violent than others, cut their heads to the skull with such strong and frequent blows, that they caused themselves to reel, producing afterwards a temporary loss of reason. It is difficult to say to what length this extravagance would have been carried, particularly by one old man, if the prince had not ordered Mr. Mariner to go up and take away the club from him, as well as two others that were engaged at the same time. It is customary on such occasions, when a man takes a club from another, to use it himself in the same way about his own head; but Mr. Mariner, being a foreigner, was not expected to do this; he therefore went up, and, after some hesitation and struggle, secured the clubs, one after another, and returned with them to his seat, when, after a while, they were taken by others who used them in like manner.

634 764 After these savage expressions of sorrow had been continued for nearly three hours, the prince, having first signified his intentions to Voona, for reasons before stated, gave orders that the body of his father should be taken to Felletoa to be buried. In the first place, a bale

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such as invasion, death of a great chief, arrival of an European ship, &c. This event therefore produced, as it generally does, considerable anxiety in the minds of the people; and this anxiety was much increased by the dreams of several women. One dreamed that during the time of the *inachi*, Tooitonga, at the head of a number of hotooas, attacked them, and broke to pieces the consecrated yams; another, that she had been at Bolotoo, and heard a decree of Higooleo, (one of the principal hotooas,) that Vavaoo should shortly experience some great calamity, because the people had neglected some particular and important ceremonies. In this state of the public mind, parties were sent to the outer islands to keep a perpetual watch, and to bring immediate intelligence of any canoe that might appear. In the course of a little time it was remarked that Tooitonga decreased considerably in size, losing flesh every day, although otherwise in good health; it was not long, however, before he began to complain of weakness and loss of appetite. His illness beginning thus to be confirmed, occasioned his relations and attendants to have recourse to the usual ceremonies on such melancholy occasions. Accordingly every day one or other of his young relations had a little finger cut off, as a propitiatory offering to the

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gods for the sins of the sick man *. These sacrifices, however, were found of no avail;—greater, therefore, were soon had recourse to: and accordingly three or four children were strangled, at different times, in the manner which has already been related; and invocations were made to the deities at *fytocas*, consecrated houses, and in the persons of the priests, but still without effect, for the gods were deaf to their entreaties; and the illness of the sacred chief grew every day more alarming. As a last resource, therefore, to excite the compassion of the deities, they carried the emaciated person of Tooitonga to the place where his provisions were accustomed to be cooked †;

* Nothing is more common in these islands than the sacrifice of a little finger on occasion of the illness of a superior relation: insomuch, that there is scarcely a grown-up person (unless a very great chief, who can have but few superior relations) but who has lost the little finger of both hands. Nor is there ever any dispute between two persons with a view to get exempt from this ceremony; on the contrary, Mr. Mariner has witnessed a violent contest between two children of five years of age, each claiming the favour of having the ceremony performed on him, so little do they fear the pain of the operation: the pain indeed is but very trifling, from the mode, probably, in which it is performed, which will be fully described in another place.

† It must be recollected that this is an act of great humility, that the high and sacred chief of Tonga should resort to the place where his victuals are cooked. See the account of the death of Finow, p. 368.

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643 —in the same manner as Finow was carried:—
763 but notwithstanding all this, death overtook
782 him in the course of eight days, after six weeks illness.

634 About a month or six weeks after the funeral
765 ceremonies were finished, (which will be described under the head of Religious Ceremonies, in the second volume,) Finow, who had not broken his head (as they call it) at the grave of his father, because perhaps on a public occasion it would have looked in him like an ostentatious display of what might have been thought *affected* feeling, resolved to perform this ceremony in a more private manner, accompanied only by a few of his warriors, to
634 whom he now signified his intention. Accord-
765 ingly one morning he and his men began to
727 prepare themselves for this affair, when unfor-
827 tunately an accident happened, which to us
777 Europeans (in the present times) would not have attracted the slightest attention; but, in the estimation of these people, was a matter pregnant with the most important and serious consequences:—for at this time Mr. Mariner, on entering the house, happened to sneeze!! Immediately every one present threw down his club, for who would proceed on so important an expedition after so dire an omen*! Finow's

* To sneeze at the moment of setting out on an expedition argues, in their opinion, the most fatal results: even Finow

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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He is the patron of Finow's family, also the god of voyages: in the first quality he is often invoked by Finow; in the second quality he is often invoked by chiefs, going upon any maritime expedition; also by any body in a canoe during a voyage. He is not the god of wind, but is supposed to have great influence with that god; his chief power is extended to the preservation of canoes from accidents: this god has several houses dedicated to him, chiefly at Vavaoo and the contiguous isles. Mr. Mariner only knew one priest belonging to him, but he, perhaps, has several. It will be recollected, in the former part of the history, at the time when Finow's daughter was so ill, that this priest, when inspired, foretold that either Finow or his daughter must die, as decreed in Bolotoo: in consequence, Finow, after his daughter's death, was so exasperated with his god, Toobo Toty', for not making arrangements among the gods more favourable to him, that he vowed to kill his priest: this sacrilegious intention was, however, prevented by his own death, which happened as a judgment on him, according to the people's notions. Vide vol. I[A]

ALA'I VA'LOO; (*Alai*, no discoverable meaning; *Valoo*, the number eight); a god that patronizes the How's family, but is particularly the patron god of Tóe Oomoo, the late king's aunt. This god is now and then invoked by

A [See 2: Mariner, category 116, pp. 350-378--Analyst]

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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his situation. He has no house dedicated to him. When an earthquake happens, it is supposed that this god, feeling himself in an uneasy posture, is endeavouring to turn himself about; and, on such occasions, the people give loud shouts and beat the ground with sticks, which is supposed to have the effect of making him lie still. They have no idea of what he lies on, nor ever make any enquiries about it; and say it would be folly to do so, for who can go there and see?

Such is the account they give of their gods, and the respect which they pay to these imaginary beings is so great and so universal, that scarcely any instance is known of downright impiety; and indeed they have very strong motives to keep them in proper order in this respect, founded in their firm and fixed belief, that all human miseries are the consequent punishment of crimes, and that acts of atrocity are most frequently punished by disease and death; and this risk of premature death among the tooas in particular must have a frightful aspect, as they consider the termination of life as the termination of their existence altogether. With respect to the chiefs indeed, to whom death is only a change to a better life, this apprehension may not take quite so strong a hold; nevertheless, life is always sweet, there are al-

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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and power of the soul or mind. They have no clear distinction between the life and the soul, but they will tell you that the *fotomanava* (the right auricle of the heart) is the seat of life. They form no idea respecting the use of the brain, unless it be, perhaps, the seat of memory; (they have a distinct word for memory, *manatoo*:) they derive this notion from the natural action of putting the hand to the forehead, or striking the head gently when trying to remember any thing. The liver they consider to be the seat of courage, and they pretend to have remarked (on opening dead bodies), that the largest livers (not diseased), belong to the bravest men. They also say they have made another observation respecting this viscus, viz. that, in left-handed people, it is situated more on the left than on the right side; and, in persons that are ambidexter, it is placed as much on one side as on the other. They are very well acquainted with the situation of all the principal viscera.

They acknowledge that the *tooas*, or lower order of people, have minds or souls; but they firmly believe that their souls die with their bodies, and, consequently, have no future existence. The generality of the tooas, themselves, are of this opinion, but there are some who have the vanity to think they have immor-

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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connection between these different meanings. When Tooitonga is ill, the intercessions with the gods for his recovery are the same, though perhaps in a greater degree, as are made on the illness of other high chiefs: prayers are offered up; priests become inspired; some children have their little fingers sacrificed; others are strangled, &c. When he is dead, his body is washed with oil and water, as usual; his widows come to mourn over him, &c.; and, according to the former custom, his chief widow should be strangled, but whether on the day of his death or of his burial Mr. Mariner does not know. His *fytoca*, or burial-place, is of the same form as that of other chiefs. The day after his death, (which is the day of his burial) every individual at every island, man, woman, and child, has his head closely shaved: this is a peculiarity, and so is the custom of depositing some of his most valuable property along with the body in the grave, such as beads, whales' teeth, fine Hamoa mats, &c.; so that his family burying-place, at the island of Tonga, where all his ancestors have been buried, must have become very rich; for no native would dare to commit the sacrilege of theft. The ceremony of interment is exactly the same as that of the king. The mourning is also the same, viz. old ragged mats, with

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 0U9 Tonga 0U9

goes to the island beyond the sky." This is confirmed by other writers (28, 38, 40), although other ideas of the road to Pulotu are no less unmistakably found. Sir James Frazer has summed up the published accounts of burial and mourning ceremonial (20, vol. 2, pp. 84-147.) It is said that common people were regarded as having no souls; but there seems to be a difficulty, at any rate among present-day Tongans, in deciding just at what point of social elevation a man might hope to be eligible for the joys of Pulotu, and possibly many a man whom his superiors regarded as hopelessly disqualified nourished a secret hope that he might, after all, inherit the pleasures and consequence that were denied him amongst mortals.

When a person has died, and is still lying in the house where he died, only those who are *fahu* to him can go into the part of the house which is about the dead man's head, or can do anything to the upper part of the body. Practical difficulties in preparing the body, should any arise, may be overcome by a *fahu* summoning whom he will to help. The bidding of the *fahu* nulifies the tapu. Foreigners are exempt from tapu binding on natives. In especial the persons who attend the bodies of the dead are the *haa tufunga*, certain *matapule* whose hereditary duty and privilege this is. Tradition makes it clear that this right has been given from one family to another. For a high chief, all who come near the body will be *haa tufunga*. There are considerable emoluments attached to this rank, or duty, as the *haa tufunga* take all the mats which have touched the body and are not buried with it. In practical application there seems to be considerable modification of rules, and eligibility to perform certain functions is not always clearly defined, especially in the case of people of humble social rank.

For some time after the *haa tufunga* have performed their duties about the body of a high chief people are rather shy of them. If they drank from a cup in a house they would take it away with them. A chiefly girl has told me that she noticed at the obsequies of a late head of her own house that the *haa tufunga* all took their own cups with them to avoid embarrassment. I have never seen the *nimatapu* (the hands of a person who has lately touched the dead rendered tapu so that he cannot feed himself) and I am doubtful if many, even of living Tongans, can have seen it; but I have heard of one European who has seen it in comparatively recent years.

The children and brothers of a dead man may not approach the body, but his grandchildren may. He is of superior social rank to his children, but not to his grandchildren.

Ordinarily the women are busy about the dead. Women wail, more or less constantly, from the time the death occurs till the body is removed from the house. Men do not stay in the house where the body is lying. At some time after the burial a woman who is *fahu* to the deceased sprinkles water in the house where he died, and all tapu is thus removed from it.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

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Utufeolo that is doubled[1]
With the weaving of *utukaunga*.
Unworthy is the mat of Tungua,[2]
But yet 'tis the portion of Falotuma.
Bring then weaving of Matuku,
Efu mat and mat of red feathers,[3]
Fatu mat is a mat not plentiful,
The Tongan *kie* is in abundance.
Weave *fihu* Uiha and Lifuka,
And take (mats) Vavau, and gather them
With the cloth of the plover and twin birds.[4]
A *kie* of Toku for his adorning,[5]
Or a mat of Late for clothing to Mua."
Finished is the wealth of our land,
Now receive ye [my commands],"
I shall spring up and leave the land;
When darkness falls I shall set the course,—
Make fast the sail, help with the oar.
Amonga and Tupa swim on—
When Tuutangaufi is on high
Marked beyond the land;
At the rising of Vaiutukitua
The isle Tafuna is lighted.
Pass on to Veuki and Apiua,
Faipa and Aloua.
Then pass on and leave,
For not yet are in close company"
Our boats, that they be not changed.
But on we come, we two,
To reach Manuka at dawn;"
Do you remain with Nafanua,"
A difficult fellow, for 'tis a god—
To Sau and Leiataua;"
Cast to me in full measure,
Till there be no mat left in a commoner's home.
Utter a chirping to cause to perch"
And snare the bird, the kula,
For a man of Navua to take,"
Or people of Kupulau to use colorfully,
Those who polish in Nautapa."
Cut sandalwood of Vuia from Bua,
Mats of Moala set in a row,
Collect cord of Sisia,
And bear on two poles a great coil of cord.
Chief of Nateba, then, be prepared,"
And a mat double-woven
To Lakemba and its islands of Lau.
For I am greatly awearied
In having hidden wealth;"
There was nothing that was pleasing
To comfort therewith your heart.
It was as meeting on a day"
With my dear pigeon not yet skilled,
The cord is pulled, it is broken off in the hand.
If I give a mat it will rot,
If I give cloth it will be torn.
The poem is but bad, yet take it,
That it be to thee boat and house,"
For thou art skilled in its taking,"
And ever have I joyed"
When the ignorant of heart have conned a poem
In companionship with the wise.
And I was ever going backwards"
On the face of the water in Anopepe,
For I was as a cuttle-fish
In my desire to appear to thee;
When it was so they would laugh,
And start and shrug,
Both matron and maid.
It is like a steep cliff,"
Two throws strike its face.
This is my small piece of kava
To Hikuleo and his mother,"
The food with it is young spiders,
And I just left it in my heart
That I might ponder it in his house.
Atamusi, Atavaha, at their first coming up"
With their precious bundle,
A ship built in America,
And the bundle of the chief of Ponape,
And the war flag of France;
Then indeed do we wish to go
In his ship that brings wealth of Nuse
For the grief of Konaofafine."

Falepapalangi's Last Poem[1]

539 763

'I he ene teu ke pekia.
Malu efiafi peau hoha'a,
Mafatua pea ta koe mala,
Ongo kovi kia Uluaki-mapa.
Kuo heka e peau tu'unga'a,
Ngoto ai e katea moe hama . . . .
The shades of even fall and I am uneasy,
Sneeze,[2] and, alack, misfortune,
Evil the sound to Uluakimapa.[3]
A sudden wave has risen,
Whelmed are the leeward and windward canoe. . . .[4]

.6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

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He taute 'ae ta'e ma'u anga
Kia hou'eiki malalanga.
Keu nofo mou hikia ha kava,

Pea pale moe me'a taumafa
Kau ka to'oa 'e he tauala;

'O ioho, tokua, koe tangata,
Ta koe akau ni kuo anga.
Kuo tonu 'i Pulotu-akaaka
Ke omi 'o tanu e matanga;
Pea vetekina e kau tangata,

Pea fai kehea ete ta'anga.
Fakapo e, koeni e lapa.
Fekau 'e Uluaki-heilala,
Mou ngauea hotau vaka
Ke kumi matangi pe ki he vaha,
Tau hake ki he A-nganangana,
Ke moia ki ai e hufanga;
Ka ai ha houhau pea ngata,
Pea manatu e taofi mana

Moe hifo 'a Hea-tau-kakapa.
Manu 'ae langi ne omi ma'ata,
Ko hono hingoa Kai-mo-tokanga.
Pe 'oku 'ilo'i koa e taha,
Pe koau pe' kuou tofanga,
He Papa-vao 'i Mata-moana
Tu'i-hala-fatai moe toafa?
Pe na'aku ongo au ko ha fa'a?
Pe ha toutai, pe ha to kava?
Ka 'ikai ko hono atunga pe
Ko si'i tangata au 'oe hala,
Hoto fie hivehiva 'i ha kava
'O Ma'afu mo Ahome'e mo Ata,
Mo Uhi mo Mafi Motu'a-puaka?
'O ka ai ha po hiva e tata
Pea ha'u ki ai ha'ane taka,

Hu atu, pea punou 'o kata,
Pea hu'ihu'i siono kakala,
Numinumi pea li fakalaka,
Pea to he vaha'a nofoanga.
Oiseuke, Mapa-e-hingano,
Si'i tu'u 'a Tonga, ka kuo pango.[15]

Kuo fai ai e vamama'o
Mo siete kau hiva na'e ako,
Na'e fai ke fakatou manako.
Pea lea he po'uli moe 'aho

Ke nau hua e taua'alo,
Ke hu he funga Ha'a-fuluhao.
Ma'u pe la na'a toe hako,

The penalty of lack of skill
For the chiefs who rule the ceremonies.
I shall sit and lift away a piece of kava,[8]
And take away the food
When I have been made careless by success;[9]
And shout, forsooth, here's a man,[7]
Yea, this is a tree of use.
It is fated in Pulotuakaaka
To come and level the hill:[8]
And dissolved is the companionship with men,
And another will make my verse.
Ah woe, this is outrage.
Uluaki-heilala[9] gives command,
Do ye make ready our canoe
To seek a wind for the open sea,
Come to land at Anganangana,
Supplicate there at the sanctuary;
If there be wrath be it ended,
May he who guards divine power remember
The going down, too, of Heataukakapa.[10]
The bird of heaven has come for me,[11]
His name is Eat-circumspectly.
Is there one who knows,[11]
Or is it but I who am aware,
At the Papavao in Matamoana
Tuihalaiatai and the flats?
Was I famed as a farmer?[12]
Or sailor or planter of kava?
Has not the way of it been
That I am a man of the road,
In my desiring to sing at a kava
Of Maafu and Ahomee and Ata,
And Uhi and Mafi Motuapuaka?
If there be a song night at hand
There would come one from the spectators,[13]
Enter, and stoop with a smile,
And take off his sweet smelling garland,
Fold it and throw it athwart them,
And it falls in the midst of the people.
Oh, alas, Mapaehingano,[14]
Dear standing of Tonga, but there's loss,[15]
There is made a wide separation
From my dear singers who learnt,
Who made a mutual liking.[16]
And it was said both in darkness and daylight[17]
That they raise a chant of the ocean,
Till they enter Haafuluhao.
The sail is made fast lest again there be gale,

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539 Kuo tei hoko hake ki he tonga,
763 Pea ha'u leva hano kotofa

Keu 'alu hake 'o tali fononga
'I he Moheofo moe Tu'i Tonga,
Fata fano ko enau ma'imea.
Pe'i manatu'i hotau koloa
Na'e to 'ia Fuhi-fala-hola,
Koe'uhi keu fakafeaoa
'A Uhi mo Lauaki mo Kioa.
Si'i ha'u Ha'apai 'o taunoa,
Pea ha'u 'a Vava'u 'o mate he 'ofa,
Pea ha'u Niua mo Ha'amoa,
'O fakafehu'i ki hoto hingoa,
He ko si'i tangata kou 'iloa,
Kuo kau he enau talanoa.
Ka malu pea nau hokoa,

Ete hua fasi moe lautoka.
Pe kohai te ne fie fanongoa
'Ae otu mau ta'e 'iloa,
Pe ko ha tangata pe ha me'a noa?

Almost has the wind gone about to the south,
And straightway there comes the appointment
That I go and attend on the journey
Of the Queen and the Tui Tonga,
Borne in litters for their amusing.
Then remember our wealth[10]
That was given by Fuhifalahola,
That I might be in attendance
With Uhi and Lauaki and Kioa.
Dear coming of Haapai, and dismay,
And Vavau comes, and faints with pity,
And Niua comes, and Samoa,
And they ask of my name,
For I am a man who am known,
I have been the theme of their talk.
In the shades of even they trace my descent,
My singing the tune and the harmony.
Who will desire to harken
To the row of poets unknown,
Whether men or things of nought?

POEMS RELATING TO MARRIAGE

Voyage of Ulamoleka to Niua Toputapu

539 584 Ulamoleka, the chief fisherman of the Tui Kanokupolu, went to Niua Toputapu to espouse a beautiful chiefly maiden of that island. After his long voyage, however, he was mortified by the girl's refusal of his proposals. Friends and relatives of the girl, who did not wish the match, had represented to her that Ulamoleka was too old for her, and that he was not of sufficiently high birth. The poem is his reply to the calumniations of his ill-wishers.

[127] The text is published (30, 1875). A manuscript text is preserved (31). These texts, which differ slightly, have both been used in the translation here presented.

Well may the thunders crash and rains descend,
The earth quake and tremble with double shocks.
Thunders rumble around; I am bandied about in talk,
They sit about in judgment on me,
On this ill-advised voyage of mine.
Slanderous talk and cause of reproach.
Ne'er before have I seen a thing so strange,
Like the whisper in Manuka.[1]
Now first have I known
That the mat is chiefly, forsooth.[2]
Is thy mind foolish?
Is thy good sense hidden?
Am I a canoe to put about again,
To go and be re-made from some land,
That then you may wish to embark,
You girls who have but lately grown?
But is it not the manner of Tonga
That after uncounted moons one is old?
Is that a thing to be cause of remark?
For is there but one man so fated?
Believe rather 'tis our common weakness
That was brought to earth, the frequented—
Be not angered Aloua,[3]

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669 not known to be a woman till she uncovered her breasts after the fighting.
726 Ata is said to have defeated Finau at some time before the battle Fakalelemoa, on the sea flats near Foui. In this fight Finau was opposed by the warrior Vikena of Utulau, who had previously been a follower of
669 Finau. Finau made the remark to Vikena, while they were in Haapai or
726 Vavau, "The unsatisfactory part of my going to Tonga to fight is that
634 there is nobody there to stand up to me." Vikena replied that he would go to Tonga and stand up to him. So Vikena came and warned the Hihifo chiefs to get ready, for Finau was coming. When Finau arrived a battle was fought inland, and Finau's force broke and fled, Vikena pursuing Finau.

When Vikena came within spear's reach of Finau he called him to stand and turn. Finau turned, and Vikena, sitting down, said, "Go alive; I'll go and die." The god Fonokitangata of Utulau had told Vikena that he would deliver Finau into his hand, and that if he did not kill him he himself must die. Vikena told Finau that he did not forget his share in his glory and kindness. So, letting Finau go, he went and died, and is said to be buried in Hihifo.

Finau it seems, soon saw that his hope of winning permanent power in Tongatabu was small, and he instituted his practice of yearly raids, destroying crops and harassing the country, in which Mariner participated.

669 The greatest warrior, and most effectively powerful chief, at this time
701 in Tongatabu was Vahai, who lived in Polonga with Vaea, Valu, Takai, and Fae. After the death of Vahai they disbanded. Takai and Fae fortified
669 Pea. Even before the death of Vahai this fortification had been commenced.
701 Pea had previously served Takai as a fowl run, because there was much
712 of the plant *ate* there, which served as fowl feed. Vahai is called the *hau*, king, not because he was Tui Kanokupolu, but because he was the greatest warrior and leader. When he became weak, and it was clear that he would
[192] die, he sent for Takai and gave him his mana, by rubbing a piece of the
[763] stem of the plantain tree between his hands, and then putting it on the
[778] hands of Takai, at the same time telling him to receive his *hau* (lordship). When Vahai's death was reported Takai and Fae were busy fortifying Pea. They completed their fortifications before they went to the funeral ceremonies. After the burial of Vahai, Vaea fortified Houma, and Valu fortified Utulau.

643 For some years after the death of Tukuaho there was no effective king
[613] in Tonga. The Tui Tonga had not sufficient power left to control the situation. The chiefs of the Haa Ngata, with whom was the choice, within fairly strict limits, and installation of the Tui Kanokupolu, attempted to meet the position by installing an outsider, Maafuolimuloa, who belonged to the Haa Havea and not to the Haa Ngata. The reason of this is said

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but containing a pun, the name meaning Man-who-believes-stories), or if anyone nearer home likes it let him have it."

Page 73. Falepapalangi

1. There are many obscurities in the details of this poem, some of which might have been cleared up had a second text been available.

2. It is not clear what is meant by exchanging poems. There might possibly have been an arrangement for performing each other's pieces which was not carried out. It may be a sarcastic reference to a claim of Mamaeaepoto that they were equal in poetic skill.

3. Mamaeaepoto is in the entourage of strong chiefs.

4. The two poets sought conquests amongst the women in separate districts, and the inference seems to be that, in their art too, they had better confine themselves to separate spheres or districts. The Feleave in the text seems to be an islet in the west of Tongatabu. The *siale* and the *hangale* are taken as typical plants of the two districts.

5. The meaning seems to be that "right from the commencement of our rivalry I showed myself a man of real achievement, while you have uttered nothing but foolishness; and whereas those foolish efforts of yours have proved futile, my poems have never lost their power to please."

6. Possibly there is a secondary meaning—make love.

7. To end. Besides the obvious meaning of engaging in the sport of snaring pigeons there is the meaning of winning the favors of women, who are frequently referred to as *lupe* (pigeon). He sarcastically tells his rival that he will get sweethearts for him and his party, as they have not much freedom to do anything for themselves.

Pages 73-79. Song of Tukulua

1. Nothing seems to be known of Tukulua beyond this poem, which was composed during the poet's illness.

2. *Huni* and *siale* are names of fragrant plants.

3. A slight emendation of *kotau* to *koto* would give "my" instead of "our." If the text is correct, it means the boat that ultimately bears us all away. This line and the one following may be a general reference to his own past life, his days of health and happiness, or there may be something of a belief that the fortunes of his ghost ship, even in the days before his illness, were parallel to his own. But probably this should not be pressed. Through it all is perhaps recollection of the days of his strength, when even though the storm raged and his mainsheet was snapped, yet he could bring his boat safely through to land and embark his "dear desire," his sweetheart; or that he could win through all hazards because he had her with him on board.

4. Onevao is an islet off Tongatabu; Niutao is not identified. Evidently both places are associated with pleasant experiences.

5. Thunder and lightning are frequently mentioned as presaging death or disaster.

6. *Pulotu 'aka'aka* should possibly be translated "widely ramified Pulotu." The word *'aka'aka* is regarded merely as an epithet of Pulotu, but the Rev. James Watkin says: "Bulotu *tete*, Bulotu *akaaka* and Bulotu *tuunaa* are the names of the Tongan three heavens." Watkin was in a better position to gain information than any inquirer can be today.

7. Land of light (*mama*) is applied to the world of mortals, and to mortals themselves.

8. The heilala (*Gardenia sp.*) is one of the plants used in the sweet-smelling wreaths and garlands. Leaf girdles are frequently hung at the head of graves, and are then called *tapu katala*.

9. Pebbles, with which graves are adorned. Fatailangalanga is the name of an unidentified place.

10. The reference means "Do not only give my body honorable burial, but also speak kindly of me." "Character" is *ango*. It is possible, however, that *ango* is an old word no longer known among Tongans, meaning "spirit." Compare Samoan *anganga*, thought, a disembodied spirit (32); Niue, *anganga*, the soul, spirit (35); Hawaiian, *anaana*, a prayer used to procure the death or curse upon one; witchcraft, divination, sorcery, and kindred meanings (1); and the well-known Tongan word, *angaanga*, corpse.

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11. By *ma* (we) Tukulua indicates himself and one other, possibly a sweetheart. It is possible that in this regretful farewell to the happy activities of living men and women, he is thinking more particularly, though not exclusively, of the charms of women's company. *Tuula* (perch for birds) would seem more likely to be applied to women than to men; women are frequently called *lupe* (pigeon). For a possible reference underlying *tata anga lei* (place of carving ivory), see *lei mangamangu* (p. 130).

12. By "games" (*tolo*) is meant the sport of dart-throwing, but possibly there is a covert allusion to love.

13. The form of the phrase *tuma 'ae fuifui puleoto* (man, lad) of cluster of *puleoto* recalls the Hebrew "son of oil." The *puleoto* is a shell used for the necklaces of chiefs and is a valued ornament of chiefly virgins. To wear this shell is a mark of virginity, for if a girl who is not a virgin wears one suspended from her neck the shell will not lie properly upon her bosom, but will turn over.

14. The *motelolo* is a tree.

15. There are two musical directions in my manuscript copy. The word *fasi* apparently marks a part where those who sing the air come in, or perhaps sing alone, and the word *lautoka* is perhaps a direction to the base or seconds. The refrains that recur throughout the piece were probably sung by the full chorus.

Page 79. On the death of the Tui Tonga

1. Langiehetupua is the name of Tui Tonga's burial vault.

2. The number of pigeons flying about in all the islands (*otu fonua*) was an omen of the King's death.

3. In the original Tongan text *mata 'o peka* is written as three words and would thus mean face (front) of *peka* (flying-fox), but the probability is that it should be taken here as a geographical name. It is possible that the phrase may mean the faces, appearance of the people of Peka (21). Veituna also appears to be a geographical name. Where these places are, or why they are mentioned, is not known.

4. Malamaisaua (indistinctly written, and possibly Malamaisana, but Malamaisaua suits the rhyme and is in all likelihood correct) is probably a place name, perhaps the name of the late Tui Tonga's compound; but it may be one of the names of the King himself.

5. *'Otua* means god, spirit. This direct ascription of deity to the king descended from the Lords of Heaven may perhaps be made easier by the fact that he is dead and has returned (or is about to return?) to the land of immortals, but it seems preferable to regard it as a statement of what the Tui Tonga, the Sacred King, actually was in his status as a king, both king of mortals and a god, probably pre-eminently the god so far as men were concerned.

6. Screen (*tatau*). A screen (*kolo*) is sometimes put around the bodies of chiefs during the burial ceremony in the cemetery and, for the very great chiefs, also in the house in which the body lay before being taken to the cemetery. Inside this screen only the *haa tufunga* (compare Maori *tohunga* and cognates in other dialects), members of the family group to whom belonged funerary arrangements, were allowed to enter.

7. Alaivahamamao, probably a *matapule* of the dead king.

8. "Midrib of the coconut leaflet" signifies the dead king. He is so called because flowers and leaves are strung on the midrib, and the name signifies him who was the center of festival for which garlands and necklaces were prepared; him to whom most of all were brought objects of pleasure and delight.

9. Manono and Fualu are names of localities in Tonga. It is possible that Manono is indicated. The statement has been made in Tonga that there is tradition that the pigeon came from Samoa to Tonga. Perhaps the most likely interpretation is that the pigeon of Manono and Fualu is the dead King, though it is possible that this is the beginning of an address to the women of Manono and Fualu, calling on them to mourn. The loss of the next five lines makes it impossible to decide.

10. At the end of the mutilated line is *evalu*, translated "eight," but of course there is nothing to show that the syllables are not, for example, the end of a name.

11. The use of the word *afio* (reign) does not mean that the king will be king of Pulotu, for Hikuleo is ruler there; but the word *afio* is used of the Tui Tonga and has a wide range of application. It is the word used of the king's being, presence, in any place. The lines mean little more than that he will be in Pulotu, Pulotutuumau (Pulotu stand fast). If Watkin (38) is correct in thinking that the Tongans divided

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cord when the hunter attempts to pull it back to him, is probably the figure of courting a girl who is yet too shy and coy to respond to the advances of her lover.

22. "That it be of comfort and use to thee on sea and land."

23. "Thou art skilled in its taking" signifies "Being a bard yourself, and able to carry things of this sort about with you in your mind." How skilled he was in this taking, Falepapalangi presently proved by repeating the whole piece.

24. These lines seem to be a general approval of liberal culture.

25. This apparently is a modest depreciation of his own efforts. Anopepe is in Eua.

26. "Like a steep cliff" is the poet's inability to do justice to the dead man, or to the merits of Falepapalangi. "Two throws strike its face," a very intelligent Tongan explained as indicating a high cliff where a stone dropped from the top struck the cliff face before falling to the bottom; but since two throws are mentioned it would rather suggest throwing a stone from the bottom.

27. The mother of Hikuleo was Havealolofonua, one of the orginal goddesses, born of seaweed and mud. This hint of her living with Hikuleo in Pulotu (Hikuleo was the god of Pulotu) is very rare, if not unique, in Tongan myth. The Samoan god of Pulotu was Saveasiuleo, preserving in himself both the names Havea and Hikuleo (26; 15, No. 3, p. 276). An old Maui, the grandfather of Maui Kisikisi, is represented as living in the underworld.

28. Atamusi and Atavaha are said to be two gods from Pulotu who brought some forms of wealth to men. The wish is expressed that all the wealth brought by these two, and all the wealth brought in modern times from foreign lands could be given to Falepapalangi to console him in his grief. There is said to have been a man living in Tonga some time ago who was called the Ponepe. I have conjectured that he came from Ponape. The war flag of France is perhaps a reference to the visit of a French vessel of war in the forties of last century. Nuse is presumably New Zealand, although now the Tongans call that country Niu Sila.

29. Konaofafine (Treasure of women) is a name for Falepapalangi.

Pages 82-84. Falepapalangi's last poem

1. The name Haapai stands at the head of this piece and at the end, a note that it is the last poem of Falepapalangi.

2. The sneeze is not always a sign of bad luck. It is supposed to be a good sign in a sick man. One informant, however, says that to sneeze in sleep is a sign of death; a sneeze lying on right side is an omen of death on the father's side of the family, if on left, of death on the mother's side, and if the one who sneezes is lying on his back it is a sign of his own death. In ordinary usage a sneeze is greeted with a laugh, as it is said to indicate that someone is in love with the person who sneezes. This recalls the propitious sneezes in Catullus' well-known lines. To sneeze, however, just before entering on some enterprise is said to be a bad sign.

3. Uluakimapa is a nickname (*hinga fakatenetene*) of some chief. These names are always pleasant.

4. By this metaphor of the sea Falepapalangi indicates the coming of his sickness upon him.

5. Some lines possibly have fallen out at this point. There are indicated instances of wrong procedure on the part of a *matapule*, the poet himself, in this instance. He describes his conducting a kava ceremony without having a piece of the root before him. He also describes some wrong disposal of the food (*fono*) served with the kava.

6. This is another sea metaphor; to come up to the wind here means "sailed well up to the wind of success."

7. The text expresses his misplaced confidence and pride; he regarded himself as a man of mark.

8. "To level the hill" is "to lay himself low."

9. Uluakiheilala is a nickname of some chief. The *heilala* is one of the plants used in the garlands and girdles. The chief, in his anxiety for Falepapalangi, gives orders for a boat to be got ready to sail to some place where there is a temple and sanctuary, to supplicate there, and turn away the anger of the god.

9a. Heataukakapa is another nickname, probably that of a chief who was a friend of Falepapalangi.

10. The bird of heaven is an omen, presaging the death of Falepapalangi. Kaimotokanga (eat and attend) is a proverbial expression for proceeding warily. The bird

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of omen is evidently the fact that Falepapalangi is so ill that he can no longer do as he likes, but has to be very careful.

11. It is not likely now that the events referred to in these lines can be ascertained. Matamoana is a place name, one locality so named being a mound (*sia*) in Hihifo. Papavao may be a name, or may indicate some beaten level place in a wood. Tuihalafatai was the name of a Tui Kanokupolu who died in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Halafatai is the name of the weather coast (*liku*) at Kolovai in Hihifo, Tongatabu. The flats (*toafa*) are the shallows along the northern coast of Hihifo.

12. His title to fame was not as a cultivator of the soil, nor as a planter of kava (the plant valued amongst chiefs, and whose successful cultivation set the seal on a man's skill as a gardener), but that he was known as a man who wandered from place to place, a man of the road, amusing the chiefs with his songs. Maafu and Ahomee and Ata are chiefs; Uhi and Mafi Motuapuaka are *matapule*.

13. The picture is of a man entering a house where Falepapalangi and others are sitting, chiefs being present, the man bowing as he comes in and takes his place. He wishes to give Falepapalangi his leaf-girdles, a sign of his appreciation of the bard, and throws it to him across the front of those sitting between him and Falepapalangi, but his aim falls short.

14. Mapaehingano is the nickname of a chief. The *mapa* and the *hingano* are valued plants.

15. Tonga is standing, secure, but the loss, the grievousness, is his own fate.

16. The "mutual liking" is either of Falepapalangi and his choir, or of the chiefs and Falepapalangi and his choir.

17. Reference is to the songs of Falepapalangi and his singers on a voyage to Vavau, Haafuluhao. When they reach Vavau the wind goes round to the south (*tonga*) that is, word comes from Tonga that he is to return to attend the Tui Tonga and his principal wife. The Tui Tonga used to be carried about in a litter.

18. The wealth is probably the right given him by a great chief, Fuhifalahola, to sing before him. Fuhifalahola (cluster of hala) is a nickname for a chief, quite possibly the Tui Kanokupolu, or perhaps the Tui Tonga. But since Uhi and Lauaki and Kioa are *matapule* of the Tui Kanokupolu, he is in all likelihood the chief indicated.

Pages 84-86. The voyage of Ulamoleka to Niua Toputapu

1. The expression *tavatava-'i-Manuka* in the original, means "whisper in Manuka." The exact translation of *tavatava* is uncertain, though it is said to mean the name of a woman, wife of Tongafusifonua, who lived in Manua in Samoa. When the Maui arrived in Manua in search of the hook with which to haul up lands, the woman who loved Maui Kisikisi imparted to him the secret of which hook to select. When the Maui made the right choice, Tongafusifonua exclaimed "Who has *'tavatava-'i-Manuka?*" meaning "Who has betrayed the secret?" The expression is proverbial for telling that which should not be told (15, No. 3, p. 278; 17, No. 367; 28, vol. 1, p. 228, where the land-fishing is ascribed, not to Maui, but to Tangaloa).

2. The mat, that is, the virgin or bridal mat presented by the virgin bride to her husband. Ulamoleka says that for the first time, he learns, forsooth, that the mat is a very high chiefly one, that is, that the girl is a very high chieftainess, too high for him to espouse.

3. Ulamoleka, appropriately to a navigator, clears away the tapu on account of his words in the preceding lines, which may sound presumptously to the unseen powers, by propitiating the stars. Aloua is a star name.

4. Ulamoleka commences something about himself, the great navigator, clever at finding lands; but breaks off to tell the girl she can do as she pleases to Tonga, represented of course by himself.

5. Niutoua is a little stream in Niua Toputapu.

6. A navigation metaphor is here used "The poet will seek another charmer."

7. Here there is more than one strand of meaning. When the rejected suitor goes on his new love errand the girl will not know to whom he has gone. Possibly there is the idea that she does not know how high his lineage is; he refers to his lofty descent later. Again the Niua Toputapu girl does not know how great are the ladies who have not despised his love. And he goes on immediately to refer to another aspect of the aspersions against his birth. He is thought a man of no great birth because he works so hard, but the great Loau did not disdain to work.

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ing where there are a number of big chiefs none of whom has any marked superiority of rank over the others. In such circumstances the work of distribution of kava, food, and other materials, becomes difficult, as questions of precedence are then delicate. 539 164 554 565

495. Hange ha fononga Makave: Like people from Makave. 539

Makave in Vavau is reputed to have had an unusually large proportion of unfortunates disfigured by the ulceration, which destroys the nose. The expression is used of very well cooked food which is compared to the appearance of the victims of this disease. 164 261

496. Tahataha e tama pea papala: Only one child and afflicted with sores. 539 164 892

The original reference is to parents who have only one child, and that one covered with sores. The expression is applied to those who have only one of a thing, and that one is bad.

DEATH AND BURIAL

497. Afia e mala kehe: Keeping vigil in other people's misfortune. 539

The misfortune referred to is death. It is proper for the relatives of the dead to keep watch round the body. This expression indicates one who joins the watchers round the body of a dead person with whom he has no family connection. Among its applications is one to a man who pays unsuccessful court to a girl. He spends his nights and loses his sleep in visits to the young lady who in the end falls to the lot of some other wooer. As we might say in slang that is very near to the Tongan expression, "it has been somebody's else 'funeral.'" 764 751 [584]

498. Lau hono fala: His mat is reckoned, or his sand is reckoned. 539

When one is about to die people are sent to commence arrangements for interment by getting the sand up from the seashore to fill in the grave and build up the mound over it. At the present time this sand is carried in ordinary rough baskets of coconut leaf but previously it used to be brought in mats wound round the waist and having a large fold in the front into which the sand was put. The phrase means that death is certain. One frequently hears it, for instance, in games, said of a side whose defeat appears to be inevitable and imminent. (See No. 505.) 763 [285] [415] [482]

499. Lelei ae ofa ki afitoka: Kindness to the cemetery is good. 539

I feel kindly disposed to this person, but it is best that he be laid to rest in the burying-ground and that my love should go out to him there. Used, for example, of one who for a long time has been very sick, so that his friends despair of his recovery and are tired of looking after him. 761

500. Hange ha mata tae pokia: Like an eye not shut. 539

This refers to the closing of the eye of the dead. The expression is used of one who sleeps with his eyes open, also of a person with a frank open countenance, and of sun, moon, or stars when they appear clear and unclouded. 764 513 826 821

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539 761 287 **501. Hange ha mate mutukia:** Like a cut off death.

Mutukia means trimmed, as for example the edges of the native cloth which are trimmed during manufacture. Thence *mate mutukia* means sudden, unexpected, death. The expression is used of the unexpected occurrence of a painful or disastrous event.

539 764 **502. Matamatalelei fakafaitoka:** Beautiful like a cemetery.

People may adorn and care for a cemetery but however well it looks it is still not a place that one feels much at home in. So used of that which is beautiful but fails to evoke the feeling of appreciative comfort that makes one desire to linger in its vicinity.

539 768 183 **503. Noo ua poaki:** Begging off being strangled.

Refers to the strangling of victims on the death of a chief or other circumstances of a like nature where a human victim was called for. This taking of life seemed a quite proper thing and ordinarily evoked no popular dissent. This expression signifies literally that the individual to whom was assigned the leading part in the tragedy sought to evade his duty by an appeal to the people. So the phrase comes to mean attempting to beg off a duty which should be carried out.

539 764 521 **504. Tala fai ki tano:** Speech made to burying-ground.

Exhortation, commands, or other expressions directed towards the cemetery where there is none able to take heed and profit by what is said. So of totally unprofitable discourse.

539 764 763 **505. To hono aveave:** Plant his *aveave*.

A branch of the *aveave* (*Codiaeum variegatum* Pratt), was stuck into the ground in a cemetery to mark the spot where a grave was to be dug. When it was clear that a sick person was about to die a man was told to put in the *aveave*, which he did as a mark to direct those whose business it was to see to the digging of the grave and carrying out of the burial. The *aveave* was left at the grave to grow. The expression, therefore, is equivalent to saying that so-and-so is nearing his end, that it is all up with him.

It is interesting to note that a grave was not left open. The digging of the grave was one of the last pieces of work done in preparation for the interment and never done before the sick person was actually dead, though the *aveave* might be planted while the patient was still alive. In recent years we have seen a coffin made for an old lady, who though frail had vitality sufficient to do a little work even outside the house, and who survived by many months the completion of her coffin, which stood meanwhile on the side verandah of her house. Should an interment be postponed till the day after the grave had been dug, the hole will be filled in and dug out again on the next day. (See No. 498.)

539 765 276 574 431 **506. Tuui tae fakakava:** Visiting mourners without kava.

In visits to the friends and relatives of a person recently deceased it is customary to take gifts to the mourners, particularly to present them with

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kava. A visit without kava would lack the most important article which the comforters should take. This phrase indicates a visit unaccompanied by the "real thing," that which is the real substance of the ceremony. Generally used of that which appears all right but is more or less of a hollow pretence. 539 765 574 431

507. Vai kauaki: Water (for) dying man.

Used of that which is given to a dying man to satisfy any longing he may have. If he wants a drink of water give it to him. Literally it refers to giving the dying whatever they may want when it is obvious that nothing can do any good or any harm and that by satisfying any desire expressed at such a time the last moments may be made happier. We have also seen the phrase in a context that seemed to imply that the draught of water was life-giving; but probably the idea is that it restored the spirits of the dying man without giving him any real chance of life. Comforting, soothing. 539 763 [271]

WRONG-DOING; RETRIBUTION

508. E lavea ae taka nofo i he ngaue ae taka tuu: The good will be wounded by the conduct of the bad; wrong-doing which involves the innocent as well as the guilty in punishment. 539 183

Taka nofo and *taka tuu*, which mean literally, "he who sits" and "he who stands," perhaps get their meanings of good and bad, as applied to conduct, from the idea of one who sits quietly attending to his own business, and of one who must always be up and gadding round into mischief. Perhaps they refer primarily to the behavior proper to the kava ring where all should sit except when it is necessary to get up to perform some office connected with the ceremony.

509. Faifaimalie a nunua: Retribution coming on slowly.

Although the retribution of evil deeds seems to tarry, yet come it will.

510. Jii pe lele ae kaihaa kae fai: The thief's run is but short, but it is done.

If a thief is discovered he must make a bolt. Even if he is unable to run far and is soon caught he may as well make a dash for it and try to get away. Not a very successful attempt, but still a try.

511. Kaihaa tangi tauloto: A thief who wants to *touloto*. 539 482 685

Tauloto is to carry two burdens or baskets slung on the ends of a stick over the shoulder. If a man desires to steal he will be well advised to limit his depredations to what can easily be comprised in a single bundle and carried without difficulty. If he takes so much that he has to make up two bundles and carry them at the ends of a stick his chances of evading discovery and capture are much lessened. Not only so, but if caught he is much more likely to be forgiven if he is getting off with a swag of moderate size. If you are out for theft there is no sense in over-doing it.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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warrior, wrested it from her, and then invested his Father Moomooe with it, who was the reigning chief, when we landed.

Duatonga was particularly delighted with the cuckoo-clock, and wished to have one. As we had several, we were glad of this opportunity of gratifying the second chief in the Island, with so acceptable a present. He took it home. Curiosity prompted him to examine the inside. He succeeded in taking it to pieces; but had not skill to put it together again. We were sent for to mend it; we made the attempt; but unacquainted with the mechanism of the clock, we were equally unsuccessful. This excited great laughter among them, and brought down upon us much ridicule. They were naturally very conceited, and this circumstance much encouraged their vanity; and now they prided themselves in the idea, that they were as skilful and cleaver[1] as we.

Soon after this, Moomooe, the reigning chief, died. His disorder and danger excited great concern through the Island, and one of his own sons was slain, through a delusive hope that his health and strength would be communicated to his dying Father.

But it is beyond the power of description, to paint the dreadful scene of horror and bloodshed, which took place at his funeral, and continued to be acted round his tomb, for weeks after. Two of his wives

1 [Errata: this should read "clever." Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235--Analyst]

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

DEATH

761 For the villager as for all other humans death at last comes to cut short the span of life. The patterns of behaviour that he has elaborated to enable him to handle this crisis are again a mixture of the new and the old. They may be most clearly described by showing the way they control the behaviour of a group of relatives when the household head dies.

763 784 593 When the father is dying, it is *tapu* for his children to come into the house in which the sick man is lying, or dying. The mother may attend the dying man, but not the children. This is part of the general set of *tapu* that govern the relation of father to children. The remains of the father's food, for example, or his drinking-nut, are *tapu* to his children. Children must not touch the father's head. A child being played with or fondled by the father may not eat food at the same time. It is *tapu* for a child to wear the father's *vala*.

763 [593] [602] The dying man therefore, is attended by his wife and by relatives of himself and his wife. They shake the man to keep him alive. They pray over the man, use whatever medicines are suggested. But the dying man may speak, he may say that he has been mean or deceitful to someone. In this case, the situation is considered pretty hopeless.

764 When it is evident that life has finally ebbed away, the wife closes her husband's eyes and mouth. She wipes the body with warm water, rubs it with coconut-oil, dresses the corpse in " best " clothes. Bark cloth is wrapped round the chest. Mats are spread in the middle of the house, bark cloth is placed on top, and a pillow. Then the corpse is laid on this " bed " and covered up to the chin with the finest mats that the household can find. Close relatives, dressed in their ceremonial skirts sit round the corpse, fanning it to keep away flies, and keeping up a continuous wailing and chanting *(tangi)*. This is generally continued all night long. Just

[593] after daylight breaks, the man's children are allowed into the house for a moment to give the deceased one last greeting in the form of a kiss *(uma)*. The corpse is then wrapped in a five fathom length of bark cloth, placed on a wooden frame and carried to the village cemetery for burial.

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

be shot, but it is inauspicious to shoot them in the village itself, because then they would go away and dire misfortune would happen. For every great family in Tonga has its death portent; with the Fatafehi it is the splitting of a great banyan tree; with the Tui Kanakubolu it is the roar of breakers on the reef in calm weather; with the Ata it is the sudden migration of the flying-foxes from the trees in Kolovai.

We had a delightful ride along the grassy road shaded with orange trees ripening to harvest. On either side of the road lay wide tracts of uncultivated bush, and I was sorry to see, mingled with the matted foliage, the ill-omened pink flowers of the *Talctala hina*. In the Parliament of 1891, when I sat on the Treasury bench, a panic bill had been hurried through, making it penal for any landowner to have this plant on his land after March, 1902. If the fines then provided were to be enforced now, the government would require no other source of revenue, for the plant, then confined to a small district at the back of the island, has now advanced to within a few miles of Nukualofa. It is a tough, creeping vine, armed with sharp, reflexed thorns, deep-rooted and very difficult to eradicate. Throwing its wicked arms about a young tree it thrusts

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
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called an old woman out of a neighbouring house, and there was no mistaking the concern in her tone as she was telling her tale. Four days before, she said, at an hour before sunset, an albino flying-fox had circled over the village, settling at last on the branches of a tree over against the door of Ata's house. Early in the morning it had flown over the trees, and the entire colony, which was just settling down to sleep after its nocturnal excursion in search of food, took to wing and followed it. Not a flying-fox had visited the town since.

Our escort were very grave over the news. 'You know our belief," said Salesi; "when the *beka* flies away, it is a sign to Ata's family. Twice have I known it so; the last time when Ata's son, who was a tutor in the Wesleyan college, died without warning, and it was always so in the time of our fathers." I found old Ata and his wife in excellent health and spirits to all outward seeming, though naturally the flying-foxes were not mentioned in our conversation. Next day Nukualofa was buzzing with the news of Ata's approaching dissolution. Ridicule of the superstition was always met with the remark, "Well, wait and see; it may not be this week, or this month, but none the less Ata has not long

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
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From a photograph by *J. Martin, Auckland*

THE COLONY OF FLYING FOXES AT KOLOVAI
They were seen on the same trees by Vason, the renegade missionary, in 1799

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825
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[facing p. 202]

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
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825 763 to live"—a statement which, as the old gentleman's age verged upon seventy, we were not in a position to gainsay. The king, who is as enlightened as anyone in his kingdom, was scarcely less positive. "It is one of those things," he said, "that one would fain laugh at, but it has come true so often that one is compelled, against his will, to believe it true." Well, ten days passed, and Ata attended the great council of chiefs assembled to consider the treaty, the halest and liveliest of the old gentlemen present. I noticed that while he was chaffing two members of the cabinet, the bystanders regarded him with the tender, melancholy interest which is supposed to be bestowed upon the man in the condemned cell, and this may have told upon his spirits; for certain it is that a few weeks after my departure from the islands I received the news that he was dead. That superstition will die hard, and if I were Ata's successor I would see to it that a few of the flying-foxes were caught and tied to their perches by a string.

431 609 One morning two of Kubu's nieces, accompanied by an aged duenna, brought presents from their uncle, who perhaps felt that, since his dual rôle as my friend and the king's father-in-law had been beyond his powers, some pledge of our old

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

god of carrying away, or who carries away, but I have heard no reason for his being thus dubbed. His sacred animal was the pretty little blue and green lizard called by the Tongans *pili*.

Tau-ki-bulotu was the god of Haa-Mene-uli, a part of Niutoua, in the east of Tongatabu. No sacred animal is known, the deity manifesting himself through his priestess, Teletele.

Vai-uka also had his seat near Niutoua, but across the border in the Tui Tonga district of Lubaha (same word as the Fijian Lambasa). He was the god of the Haa-Mofuta. Mofuta will be remembered as occurring in the name of a neighbouring deity, Mofuta-ne-ta'u.

This god had no special temple, but the priest was consulted in his own home. There was, however, a sacred grove near which becoming silence must be preserved. The hard black volcanic pebbles, valued on account of their durability as heating stones for the ovens, and also used in the adornment of graves, were sacred to him, and the ground within the grove was strewn with these votive offerings. These pebbles must of course be brought from one of the distant volcanic islands. Vai Uka was much resorted to by the sick. The priest stroked the seat of affliction with the happiest results. It is not clear how far these cures can claim to be supernatural, as such soothing massage is still a regular part of Tongan medical practice. The god's pharmacopœia is strongly parallel too to the healing art of mere mortals in its employment of a liniment whose manufacture and use are far from being divine secrets.

Tui Olotau, King of Olotau, god of Olotau, the piece of ground on which stands the well-known trilithon, the Haamonga-a-Maui (The Burden carried on the Shoulders of Maui), in the eastern part of Tongatabu. His sacred animal was the sea-snake, which is also connected with Hemoana. If a sea-snake were seen ashore the people knew that it was no ordinary sea-snake, but the god.

The *kalae*, a rail sacred to the Tui Tonga. I have not been able to find out the name of the inspiring deity. The worshippers of this bird used to take about with them a bunch of *kalae*, and, as already mentioned, the priest had one of these bunches tattooed on his throat.

This bird's crying at night was an omen of death, and in this connection he was called by the sinister name of *Fata*, the Bier. The home near which he was heard would be the scene of death, and as he flew away the direction from which his note was heard was an indication of the situation of the cemetery in which the dead would be buried. Either through a strange coincidence, or through this bird being in some way attracted by serious illness, the monotonous cry of the *kalae* in unusual numbers added to the dreariness of the nights in November, 1918, when the whole of Nukualofa was filled with the sick and dying, struck down by the wave of pneumonic influenza.

20: Gifford E-5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

a reef at low tide, suddenly fell down with some sort of seizure. She was removed to the hospital. She declared that the ghost of her mother's brother had struck her violently across the face. 775

Exorcism for the driving out of spirits from possessed persons is still sometimes practised. 789

In the central province, Haapai, a man severed his connection with the Free Church and became a Mormon. His friends and relatives who were Free Church members, declared there would be no rest for his soul. In a few months he died. His widow and a relative were haunted by his ghost, which would rudely awaken them from sleep by shaking them. The nuisance was abated only when they resorted to his grave and broke up his skeleton. His visitations were thought to be a divine punishment for his disloyalty to the Free Church. 775 [795]

On the night following the excavation of some ancient burials on Kao Island the natives who were encamped a hundred yards from the tomb, said they heard wailing at the tomb. It was the " blood " of the deceased ancients bemoaning the removal of their bones.

Anciently the apparition of an illuminated native sailing vessel—a ghost ship—forboded the death of a chief. To-day European type vessels and even steamers appear as ghost-ships portending death. 763 [178]

In one of the more remote Haapai Islands is at least one Christian minister who places effective tabus on growing crops to prevent the inroads of pigs and rats. The writer has himself seen plantations guarded by both barbed wire and tabu badges. The latter were observed in two forms. One was a small package of pulverized herbs to cause illness in the trespasser. The other was a cocoanut leaf bound on the trunk of a tree as the emblem of Taufa the shark god. This bore with it the prayer that the trespasser might be bitten by a shark when next he bathed in the sea. 784 241 784 [754] [789]

Christianity with its Sabbath and various " shalt nots " has found a ready ally in ancient heathen tabu. The tabu idea has simply been transferred to another set of concepts. For the same reason quarantines (tabus) against various islands or groups of islands are readily enforced by the medical authorities to-day. The game laws, too, are heeded 177 784 744 671

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

754 common people had the utmost dread. So firm indeed was the belief of the people in the power of an enemy or priest to *tukitalai*, or consign them to death, that when once the victim knew that the *tuki*, or ceremony of cursing, had been performed, he generally pined away, and fell a sacrifice to his fears: or else the parties concerned would not scruple to employ the secret agency of poison, to accomplish the fulfilment of the threat. Even to this [178] day these superstitious fears exist, though they are gradually wearing away. Like the remembrance of goblin tales, the fear remains after the faith has been destroyed. A case of this kind came to the writer's personal knowledge, while residing in Tongatabu. A well-known young and clever chief, called Netani Nauvaivai, (I think this was his name; but, not having written it at the time, I may be mistaken in the native cognomen,) came from a long residence in Fiji to reside with his relative Ata, the chief of Hihifo. About a year after his 754 arrival he began to complain of languor, and his 763 strength rapidly failed. He was a man of great mental and physical energy, and in religious and general knowledge was far in advance of most around him. I attended him in his sickness, and was with him when he died. His disease was undoubtedly abscess of the liver. But some of the attendants one day told me that they believed he was dying through the effects of *sausau*, or Fijian sorcery. I mentioned this to the sick man some days before his death. He smiled, and said that he believed nothing of the sort; but that it was, nevertheless, quite true that, three years previously, when journeying with a party of heathen Fijians, he had violated a *tabu*, by eating of certain for-

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

bidden sugar-cane; upon which the Fijians told him that he was a doomed man, and should not long survive his offence. He laughed at their fears, and had never thought of it again, until he was reminded of it by a Fijian woman, one of the attendants who had accompanied him from Fiji, and who firmly believed that his sickness and death were solely attributable to that cause. Netani himself had no such opinion, and died a very peaceful and happy death, trusting in his Saviour; but it was evident that many around him thought otherwise; thought, in fact, that he had been prayed to death by the heathen.

It cannot be cause of surprise that the dread of sorcery, and especially the fear of the power of the priesthood to pray people secretly to death, should have obtained such complete dominion over the native mind, when we remember, how by Papal fulminations, and paper interdicts and excommunications, the Church of Rome exerted her authority, in olden times, even in enlightened Europe. By the bugbear of a Papal anathema, whole kingdoms were thrown into a state of distress and panic, scarcely conceivable in modern times.

We have seen, however, by what took place in Vavau on the introduction of Christianity, how much the priestly craft, and the whole system of lies which it propagated and sustained, depended upon the countenance of the civil powers. No sooner was their protection withdrawn, than the whole fabric of heathenism collapsed and crumbled into ruin. It had no deep-seated and inherent vitality of its own, which could enable it to maintain its authority as a purely religious system. When left by the political power to its own re-

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

797 159 [794] relations, and former companions, forsook Houma, and settled with Hafoka upon this new locality in Fatai. Temporary houses were built, in one of which I preached the first sermon to a congregation of eighteen persons, eight of whom were new converts from heathenism. Before a year had gone by, there were at Fatai thirty-five church members, a good chapel, a school, and a resident native teacher. There was also a fair prospect of a regular accession of converts from Houma.

797 123 763 While this was going on, Vaea, the old Houman chief, died. I visited him during his last sickness, and was with him only a few hours before his decease. I talked to him very faithfully about his soul. As on many former occasions, so now, he expressed his thanks for my visit and advice; but he intimated his unalterable resolve to die as he had lived, a heathen. But, notwithstanding this, he called his children and friends around him, after I had left, for the purpose of urging them to live at peace with their Christian neighbours; and he even advised them all to become Christians themselves. Shortly after he had done this he expired.

565 Another chief was installed with barbaric honours, who assumed the title of his predecessor without any consultation of the wishes of the king. This new ruler became an easy tool in [662] the hands of designing men, both in Houma and Bea, in bidding defiance to the government of the [669] king, and in the attempt which was finally made to overthrow his power altogether.

798 669 712 721 Early in the year 1851, the fortress of Bea was put into a state of warlike defence, without the slightest provocation from any quarter. For

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

to unload the canoe at midnight, and stealthily to effect a landing. A watch, however, was kept, and just as the goods and bedding of the Frenchman were coming on shore, the king himself interrupted the proceeding, and ordered both the offenders to appear before him in the morning. When they did so, the king forbad the residence of the Frenchman in Nukualofa; and he also told Sovea that, if he ever resided in the town, he should not be allowed to erect a Popish chapel. After this, the canoe sailed to Bea; from whence Sovea and the French lay-brother effected an entrance into Houma, where Vaea gave them a location.

We have now brought these general statements to a point from which we may carry on the narrative, by transcribing a few extracts from our Missionary Journal. These will afford a sufficiently clear insight to the progress of events:—

Hihifo, Sunday, January 11th, 1852.—The return of my natal day. All glory be to God, who has preserved me hitherto from many dangers, in these "ends of the earth." I rode to Nukunuku, and reached the teacher's house just as the cold hand of death was laid upon one of his children. Barnabas had, only recently, lost his wife, who died happy in the Lord; and, as the decease of this child was quite unexpected, it was a time of deep feeling and solemnity. After preaching there, I rode to Teekiu, where I preached again, and met the Society. I then rode home to Hihifo, in time to preach there also in the afternoon.

Monday, 12th.—Rode to Nukunuku, accompanied by Mr. Webb, where we interred the teacher's child. We then visited Fatai. Mr. Webb

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

"While we prayed, and Christianity was spreading, the mind of all Haabai was full of evil toward me. But, after a while, Ulukalala, and all Vavau came to Haabai, to be present at the marriage of Taufa-ahau, about to be celebrated, at which time also all the heathen chiefs of Haabai were met together. Then was Taufa-ahau taken suddenly with a great sickness which seemed to be unto death, and the heathen had almost taken him away by force to Uiha, to perform heathen ceremonies, in anticipation of his decease. But we received help from the Lord; for just at that time a canoe came from Tonga, bringing William Ulakai, the uncle of Taufa-ahau, who was a Christian, and proved a hindrance in their way.

"However, on the day when Taufa-ahau was at the worst, I heard the sound of a canoe preparing to sail; and, on going to the door, I saw all the chiefs of Uiha coming in a body, headed by one of the sons of Malubo, flourishing a club before them. I then bethought me that they were now coming to remove the king; so I went and sat down by the door of his apartment. They also drew near, and began to explain to Taufa-ahau the object of their coming. But, whilst they were talking, I kept secretly and earnestly praying to the Lord, that he would make their persuasions of no effect. And so it was, for the king looked out upon them with a face of fury, and bade them begone. I then ran to see Mr. Thomas; but found he was engaged with Ulukalala, the king of Vavau. I then wrote upon a slate, and sent it in to Mr. Thomas, telling him that the king was dying, upon hearing which he accompanied me immediately to the patient. We found that he had in the mean

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

We found that he had in the mean
539 time been drinking a Fijian medicine given him by
797 a chief, who was one of the Tuitoga's party, and
643 who had formerly fought against Taufa-ahau. We
763 had good reason to suspect that the medicine con-
[682] tained poison. Mr. Thomas and Mr. Cross, there-
fore, administered something, that made him vomit all the Fijian drug. That night, however, the king was apparently dying; but all the Christian chiefs, and ourselves, met especially to pray for the king. We continued so to do, all night, even until the break of day. No Christian slept that night. As daylight appeared, a wailing cry was heard. At first we thought the king was gone; but we soon learnt that it was a cry of joy from the king's sister, because the king was better. Thus the Lord heard our prayer, and blessed the medicine to the king's recovery. Our king lived, and therefore we rejoiced in the Lord. From that time Christianity (the *lotu*) spread and increased in strength, while the kingdom of the devil became weaker and weaker."

797 At this point we must leave Peter's narrative;
643 nor dare we venture to expatiate upon the many suggestive portions of his simple tale. The Divine influence that must have been operating upon the heart of such a man as Taufa-ahau, leading him to countenance Peter, and to protect him from the malice of the great chiefs; his bold and opportune avowal of Christianity, at the particular time when its interests were in greatest danger; the subsequent decision of his character and proceedings, and his probable escape from being secretly murdered; all these things mark the power of heavenly grace, and the operation of an all-wise Providence, preparing

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

ters of animal fruitage have often been photographed, and are widely known. Tradition speaks of a white flying-fox whose appearance is the sign of the approaching death of Ata. The other flying-foxes give this uncanny visitor wide elbow room. The tradition of the occasional appearance of a white flying-fox is correct, as the present Ata has seen no less than three—the last no longer ago than last year. This last one, maimed by a broken wing, fell into the possession of Ata himself, who was tending it, purposing on its recovery to present it to the queen, but unfortunately dogs or pigs snipped its vital cord. Ata, who is a very robust and athletic man in young middle life, has manifested no alarming symptoms as a result of being honored by a visit from the ominous creature. A white flying-fox figures in an old story as being used for divination by Bunga, chief of Boha in eastern Tongatabu.

Mr. W. H. Murley of Haapai and Mr. Gifford of the University of California have severally come across instances of fog being regarded as ominous of the death of a chief. Difference of opinion evidently prevails as to the rationale of this portent. Mr. Murley, who is exceptionally well versed in Tongan custom and tradition, speaks of a mist on the sea as ominous, whilst very good native opinion has assured me that the mist only presages evil when it is over the land. Several birds are also ominous. Should a traveler find a kingfisher persistently flying about him, that is a warning to relinquish his journey and return home. The hooting of an owl in the evening near a dwelling is the publication of the pregnancy of a woman in the house. The crowing of a cock in the afternoon (perhaps early evening) is a harbinger of evil unless he be answered by another cock. The crying of the rail at night is an omen of death, and the direction of his flight indicates the place in which the doomed person shall be buried. Mr. Murley notes that as he was sitting with a native a kingfisher entered the room, and his native friend became very uneasy at this circumstance as a portent of evil. Not only the kingfisher is thus ominous. Mr. Murley's friend informed him "that evil spirits come in with the rubbish, and lizards and rats as well as kingfishers." A similar instance came under my own observation. A *fuleheu* (*Ptilotis curunculata*) came into my room, and a native

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

obtain the coveted power: "From this we passed to the other large house which . . . was sacred to the God of Pretane, and in which old Mumui sleeps when indisposed, in hopes of a cure. On the floor were four large conch shells, with which they alarm the country in times of danger: and on the rafters were placed spears, clubs, bows and arrows, to receive from their imaginary deity supernatural virtue, to render them successful against their enemies." The Tongan philosopher was doubtless little troubled by questions as to whether the man gave the weapon the mana or the weapon gave it to the man. Traced to its ultimate source it was ever the gift of the gods.

APPARITIONS

The mana was occasionally a mysterious visitor from the other world. As an example it was said that a man might suddenly see the supernatural personage in his boat. The boatman would treat the apparition with the greatest respect, and set off home with as little delay as possible, convinced that some mishap had befallen. The recipient of such a visit would consider it a mark of divine displeasure, and would ask the sprite what wrong he had done, and why he was angry with him.

Mr. Murley's manuscript contains concrete examples of supernatural visitations. In July, 1909, on the night before the death of Maealiuaki, a great chief, at the time governor of Haapai, a man and his wife who were fishing on the island adjoining that on which the sick chief lay at the point of death were much alarmed at the sight of a sailing-boat, brightly illuminated with various colored lights, rapidly approaching from the southeast. This was of course a mana of Maealiuaki's death. That year of 1909 was fertile in portents and fortunate in chroniclers, for another of Mr. Murley's informants told him that in that same month of July, 1909, a small boy in the island of Niua Foou received a visit from a stranger who asked him if he knew the reason of the frequent earthquakes. The child confessed his ignorance, pleading his extreme youth. With the sinister words, "Then thou wilt know, for in the month of September you people will not be able to eat for something dreadful will occur," the stranger departed as abruptly as he had come. As he turned to go the boy

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 0U9 Tonga 0U9

where we found several people bathing, but the water was too salt to use and we always found that what they call'd good water was almost intolerable to us, a sure proof that they are entire strangers to it generally speaking. In one place where it still continued to run out from under the rock it was somewhat fresher, & might probably be still more so the longer the water ebb'd, but it was difficult to say whether this would have been a constant source supposing the tide never reach'd it, or only a certain quantity wash'd from the earth during the time the last remaind in these vacuitys and mix'd with it.

When we return'd in the evening Poulaho had a pretty large hog dressd for our entertainment, with Yams, Cocoa nuts &c and afterwards provided us with as good a lodging as his house could afford, giving us mats to sleep on and cloth to cover us, but our host had made himself so happy with some wine & brandy we had brought that it was a matter of much indifference to him where he lay.

FRIDAY 27th. The Wind ESE. Moderate breezes fine weather. In the morning Poulaho told us he was going presently to perform a ceremony call'd Tooge[1] which they do at the death of their relations and even in other distressing situations. It is done by striking the highest part of the cheek bone alternately with the inside of the fists for some time, which abrades the skin and makes the blood flow out in a considerable quantity, at the same time accompanying it with a dolefull kind of cry or weeping. We were glad to have an opportunity of seeing a custom so universal that perhaps eight in ten of them retain the marks of having perform'd it, and great numbers of them very recent, at which time it looks as if a hollow circle [were] burnt in; but were disappointed at last, for though he went to an inclosure where a large circle of people were sitting to drink Kava we saw no other ceremony than he and the people that were with him putting some green leaves about their necks, which they broke and threw down when they came to the place. We had seen them drinking the Kava sometimes at the other islands, but by no means so frequently as here, where it seems the only forenoon employment of the principal people and the drinking it is confin'd to them only, unless they chance to prepare a little more than is wanted when it is distributed to any person indifferently. The Kava is a species of pepper[2] which they cultivate for this purpose and esteem it a valuable article, taking great care to defend the young plants from any injury and commonly plant it about their houses. It seldom grows to more than a mans height, though I have seen some plants almost double that, and

[1] *tuki.* [2] *Piper methysticum.*

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

an idea of such rigorous discipline that must require either an uncommon degree of affection or the grossest superstition to exact. I will not say that the last has no share in it, for in some cases it is so universal that many could not have any knowledge of the person for whom the concern is express'd—such for instance as the case mention'd of the people of Tonga mourning the death of a chief at Va'vaoo; unless we allow that it is customary to have a general mourning for persons of eminence, as seem'd to be the case on our arrival at Tonga, when a great number of the people who had been with us at Annamooka cut off their hair for a chief who had died at Tonga a month before, and at the same [time] it should be observ'd that the painfull operations are only done by the nearest connections. When a person dies he is buried the same day, after being wrapp'd up in matts and cloth, much after our manner: the chiefs in this case having the Fyatockas appropriated to them but the common people are interr'd in no particular spot. What part of the mourning ceremony follows immediately after is uncertain, but that there is something besides the general one we were inform'd of from the death of Mareewagges wife, who died while we were there and was to have five days spent for that purpose by all the principal people in commemoration of her.

Their long and general mourning proves that they consider death as a very great evil, and this is confirm'd by an odd custom they practice to avert it, for when they suspect themselves in danger from sickness they cut off their little finger as a propitiation to the Deity. The operation is perform'd with one of their stone hatchets with which they make a tolerable stump, but never cover it afterwards, leaving these and all other sores expos'd to the air; nor do they seem to have any method of assisting the cure of diseases of any kind, the only instance I saw being some incisions made in a large swelling in a mans arm to discharge the matter by. There is scarcely one in ten but are thus mutilated in one or both hands (which is sometimes done on the illness of their chief as well as themselves) and has a disagreeable effect, many being cut so short that they have incroach'd on the bone of the hand which joins to it.

There is another custom amongst them call'd Taboo whose precise meaning we do not well understand. The word itself implys no more than that a thing is not to be touch'd, and therefore every thing that is under such restriction for certain reasons is said to be Taboo'd. It seems a custom of great force and extent and in some measure may be reckon'd of the sacred or religious cast, relating to things hallow'd and forbidden. Thus the Fya'tocka at Poulaho's house was not to be

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

our Cloth & matting very strong & neatly made, some of these are brown others quite white & they are always fringed. They have also various kinds of Matts with fringes & tossels worked on them which they wear upon extraordinary Occasions, they also wear over all round the middle a dress made of Leaves more for ornament than use, & they wear one like it but less about their necks, which they also ornament with Necklaces made of Shells, but these soon gave way to our blue beads of which they were extravagantly fond both men & women. The common Dress of the Chiefs & which seemed to distinguish them from the common people was a large piece of Cloth round their waist & plaited at the upper part, which is done by the women with the same Care & nicety as Shirts are plaited in England tho' the folds are not near so fine. This was no unbecoming Dress, they oil their Hair & Shoulders with Cocoa nut oil after bathing, & thus dress'd and decorated an Amsterdam Chief cuts no despicable appearance. They wear their Hair long, flowing over their Shoulders, but they are obliged to cut it off on particular Occasions such as the Death of the Chiefs or of their relations, and for the same Reason both men & women & even Children cut off their little fingers: many of them have both cut off, there are but very few that have not lost one, they cut it off just underneath the first joint, tye up the Stump with grass & leaves[1] & it soon heals, they cut them off with stone Chizels & then bury them in the ground. Their Arms & Cheek bones are also marked in memory of the dead. Their walk is strait & majestic & their manners free & open. In their Dispositions they are friendly hospitable & humane, very tender to & careful of old People and the Sick, & civil & obliging to each other, treat their women well. I was much pleased with the following instance of their gratitude which I happened to be a witness to. A large Sailing Canoe having got her rigging entangled with the Resolution's driver boom was in danger of carrying away her Mast, & the Indians had made several Efforts but in vain to disengage it, which a young Gentleman who had the Watch upon deck observing ordered one of the Men to assist them, who thinking it no part of his duty growled about it & was very unwilling to go, on which the gentleman jumped on the boom himself & got the Canoe clear; the Indians then insisted upon his accepting a large bunch of Cocoa nuts as a present for the Service he had done them, but this he would not accept tho' he was much pleased with the Offer.

[1] There can have been no uniformity of treatment. Anderson speaks of no treatment at all; Mariner says (II, p. 179) that after the operation the stump was merely 'held in the smoke and steam arising from the combustion of fresh-plucked grass', this stopping the flow of blood.

[451 cont.]

175 764 137 the event shewed that we were not mistaken. We found a beautiful green lawn, enclosed on all sides by shady bushes and trees, amongst which casuarinas, pandangs, and wild sago-palms appeared with their various tints of green. A row of Barringtonias, as big as the loftiest oaks, formed one side of it, and shrewed it with their large blushing 175 764 flowers. At the upper end of it, there was a rising two or three feet high, set out with coral-stones cut square. The area above was covered with a green sod, like the rest of the lawn. Two steps, likewise of coral rock, led up to this part, in the midst of which a house was situated, exactly like that which we saw at Ea-oowhe. Its length was about twenty, the breadth fifteen, and the height of the ridge ten feet. The roof descended sloping nearly to the ground, and was made of banana leaves. We entered into this building with only one of the natives, the rest keeping at some distance. We found the floor covered with broken pieces of white coral rock, and in one corner a heap of blackish pebbles, about eight feet long, which was [304 763] elevated a foot above the white stones. The native told us that a man lay buried there, and pointing to the place where his little finger had formerly been cut away, he plainly signified that when his [532 778 171] maduas or parents (13) died, they mutilated their hands. We found two pieces of wood a foot long, carved [452] into some resemblance of the human figure, like those which are called e-tee at Taheitee, but they were treated in the same manner, that is without the least degree of respect or veneration, being frequently trod upon and kicked about. These burying-places, which are called a-Fayetooca in the language of the country, are always delightfully situated on green lawns, and

13. Perhaps any relations in the ascending line.

597 Exposition of one case will illustrate some of the complications and alterations that result from adoption. Lutu was adopted at the age of seven months by Va and Tevita; Va was Lutu's FMS but after the adoption Lutu called Va fa'e 'mother' and Tevita tamai 'father'. Va had one child of her own, a daughter, but the girl married young and left
597 home so Va wanted another child. When Lutu was nine years old, Va be-
763 came very ill and Lutu was sent back to live with his natural parents.
593 Va's illness continued for about a year and then she died; at that time Lutu ran away and returned to live with Tevita, his adopted father.
593 During the next few years Lutu's mother came several times to take him
597 to her home but each time he ran away and waited until she had left to
598 return. During this period there were a lot of hard feeling between Tevita and Lutu's biological parents. The last time Lutu's mother came to take him back he was seventeen and he told her he was old enough to decide for himself and he wanted to stay with Tevita.

597 When Lutu's biological mother died he did not go to her funeral,
764 but when his biological father died both he and his adopted father at-
593 tended the funeral. Lutu inherited nothing from his biological parents;
[428] all of their possessions went to a younger son. When Tevita died Lutu inherited all his possessions.

597 The case is also an example of how adoption creates alternatives
602 for the adoptee. Both Lutu's biological parents and adopting parents resided in the same village, but the biological parents had few kinsmen within the village while the adopting father had several kinsmen. By stressing his relationship with his adopting father, Lutu closely

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978
(ca. 1800-1850)
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127 contain little of specific ethnographic value, but alerts him to the fact that subsequent descriptions might contain something of ethnographic value about the activity. Such a description which portends future descriptions is the following extract from Woon's letter-journal:

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> We have been somewhat amused of late with some tales which have reached us respecting the proceedings of the unenlightened, especially from a place called the Bea, where the fircest have been - - - themselves about the sickness of their chief who is in a declining state, and who is expected to leave this world for Bulotu, the place of departed spirits, chiefly the residence of chiefs & matabules, and who is expected to take an active part in the government of their affairs when he gets there, as he is said to have great influence on that quarter, his brother being there who died several years ago, and who is interceding for him and his people. The most ridiculous customs are followed up at the Bea to lengthen out the days of the chief and when he dies, we expect great lamentations will be made for him (Woon, Letter-Journal entry of July 15, 1833) [- - - indicates an illegible phrase in the holographic account].

Woon is describing activities which were taking place at the area known as the Pea on Tongatapu Island, and although "the fircest" Tongans were apparently there, no proper names are given. Of ethnographic interest in this description is his reference to "Bulotu" or Pulotu, and that the dying chief's dead brother has been active on behalf of the living. This latter point has a bearing on the previously discussed concept of 'otua (pages 53-57), especially the point Lawry made that "Atuas are the souls of departed chiefs" (Lawry, Diary, October 9, 1822; see page 127 53). What is really of interest for the ethnohistorical researcher, however, is the activity surrounding the expected death of the Tongan chief. By means of the chronological-synchronous reading method I

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978
(ca. 1800-1850)
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127 name of the dead chief, Takai, who is to be reburied. On the basis of Woon's description, the ethnohistorical researcher might make the initial assumption that Takai was the brother of the un-named dying chief, who interceded in Pulotu for the chief and his people, but more information is definitely needed to make a statement of ethnohistorical
127 fact based on this assumption. Thomas' own letter-journal manuscript
797 account, with its entry of July 23, 1833, provides us with the name
765 of the dying chief at the Pea:

> ...to witness a heathen ceremony there called Hikitaga, it consists in the moving the bones of the dead from one place to another. I expected many persons to be present, and thought an opportunity might thus afford of speaking for the Lord. On arriving at the Bea, we waited upon Fae, or Taufa, the chief who is very ill, and has he feels satisfied he must die, he has been careful to prepare himself a tomb or vault while yet alive, into which his remains are to be put, when he dies. This vault, which has cost his people immense labour and time, is to contain the remains of several great chiefs, who from time to time have been commited to the earth, chiefly relatives after which his own remains are to be deposited there [stress added] (Thomas, Letter-Journal, July 23, 1833).

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127 The actual description of the hikitanga ceremony has not been elaborated upon. The assumption that the individual named "Takai" of Thomas' journal description was the brother of the dying chief "Fae" of Thomas' letter-journal entry is strengthened by Thomas' mention of "relatives" being reburied.

127 Hobbs, one of the other missionaries mentioned by Thomas in his
797 journal entry, also wrote of the visit and the activities at the Pea:

565 > On Tuesday I accompanied Bro Thomas and Bro Tucker to
765 the Bea one of the principal places on the Island the chief of which is very ill - We witnessed parts of the ceremony of taking up a deceased chief's Bones and saw

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the vault in which they were afterwards to be deposited. When Bro Thomas waited on the Sick Chief he found him fully determined to choose his idols. He said it was very well for us and Tubou and the people to serve our God; but as for him he was fully satisfied to worship his own God and that he and his people therefore should continue to choose to their heathenish ceremonies. The god that this Chief principaly worships died about 20 years since whose bones are now removed; and it is also as firmly believed that that he inspires the present chief that is, that he comes and communicates with him on all important occasions from the invisible world. And the people seem to adore the Chief almost as much as the god who inspires him. It is expected that this chief will soon die, and he intends to be buried in the new vault just now finished. The vault is indeed a marvelous work for a company of poor heathen savages to perform destitute as they are of Tools - it is composed of 5 large pieces of stone one to answer as a bottom and four for each side. These were fitted to each other in a way which was highly creditable to their genius and perseverance and left a space for the Bones about 6 feet long 4 feet Deep and 3½ feet wide. There was a stone also prepared to cover the Vault when the present chief dies. This stone is about 9 feet long 7 feet broad & 1 & ½ foot thick wrought into a square form with one smooth face which will of course be placed downwards [stress added] (Hobbs, Journal, July 27, 1833).

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127 From this rather detailed description by Hobbs, the ethnohistorical researcher gradually pieces together the events which took place at the Pea. Once again, although proper names of the dying Tongan chief (Fae) and the deceased chief (Takai) are not mentioned, one assumes that if inspiration for the dying chief comes from a deceased relative, as 'otua, then Fae and Takai might have been siblings.

The journal of the third missionary mentioned by both Thomas and Hobbs, Charles, Tucker, was not available. Tucker, however, did make a letter-journal entry of the events of that day, presumably copied from his own journal. Tucker wrote:

[797]
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127 over the grave" (Turner, Journal, February 18, 1833).

764 A final description of the hikitanga ceremony of July 23, 1833

127 comes from Thomas' post-1850 manuscript account. Thomas provides in-

765 formation which confirms descriptions from all previous accounts of the hikitanga, as well as new details and information.

[304] Fae of Bea is still very ill, but firmly attached to his heathenism, he has had a new stone vault got ready for his body in his fort, and this day disinterred the body of Takai his older brother formerly the warrior chief of this fort, and three other friends of the Lavaka tribe, and now the people of Bea are performing funeral ceremonies for them a second time, it being what is called the hikitangaa with the crying of the women, and beating their bosoms, and the frantic speeches of the men who cut themselves and break their heads until the blood gushes out and runs down over their bodies. This of course is in sorrow to the dead and especially to Takai the Tutelar God - and at one time esteemed the Hau, or How of Tonga.

[776] [565]

The bones of the different chiefs were carefully laid in new clean matts - with black cloth and wealth and thus covered and laid out in a large house prepared for the occasion, where the chief mourners were all seated and where lights were about to be kept burning all that night in honour of the dead, and the mourning would be kept up. Large quantity of native property was presented, as is usual at the funeral of chiefs called tukuofo - and the next day the chiefs would be laid in the new vault with all the usual ceremonies, of persons lately departed, but as our time did not admit of our remaining to witness that part, we first waited upon Fae and again urged upon him the importance of caring for his soul, but turning to God, but found him most firmly determined to die to the gods of Tonga, and although he was now near death yet he was firm to his gods. He was more ernest than usual, and almost angry to think that he should be talked to on such a subject. Our last words that he would most assuredly find out that Jehovah was the true God. We then left him [stress added] (Thomas MS. Ib: 923-925).

127 797 763 [765]

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

in the advice she gave each year regarding the appointments of ministers. This, strictly speaking, was quite an irregular procedure but Page and his successors in the presidential office knew that every minister accepted unquestioningly what he understood had been decided upon her advice. She took a deep interest in the Women's World Day of Prayer. In the last year of her life (1965) she selected Scripture readings and wrote the prayers used by women throughout the world in February 1966.

The Queen was honoured by Britain on several occasions. She was the first D.B.E. in the Pacific (1932), Dame Grand Cross (G.B.E.) in 1945, G.C.V.O. in 1953, and, just before her death, G.C.M.G., the only woman in the world with this last-mentioned distinction.

In January 1965 she visited Auckland for medical treatment. An exploratory operation revealed the secondary growth of cancer. She returned to Tonga in May, and for the remaining months was under drugs and often in considerable pain.

When the ashes of her old friend, Rodger Page, were brought from Sydney, she was driven slowly around the cemetery. Especially as she was then in the last stages of her illness, this action impressed the great crowd at the cemetery as a signal mark of respect. She also directed that the word for "burial" on Page's stone should be *telio*, the word reserved for royalty, an unprecedented evidence of esteem.

On 31 October, four days before returning to a hospital in Auckland, the Queen received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper from her chaplain, the Rev. George Harris, and other ministers. She then gave a testimony, indicating her resignation to whatever might happen to her, adding that she had professed her faith in Christ when she was young and had adhered to it ever since, so that no hurried final spiritual preparations were needed. Treatment in Auckland proved of no avail. She passed away on 16 December.

The funeral took place on 23 December at Nuku'alofa before an assemblage estimated at 50,000. The king and queen with the royal family, the Governor-General of New Zealand, the Governor of Fiji, the Head of State in Western Samoa, and many other visiting leaders followed the bier on foot. In the still air the singing of the hymns the late Queen had chosen was deeply moving. Mourned with profound sincerity, she is still, years after her death, called by her people "Our Beloved Queen".

King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV was crowned on his 50th birthday, 4 July 1967, by his chaplain, George Harris, supported by Cecil Gribble, then President-General, who visited Tonga for the occasion. The king's brother, John Tu'ipelehake, succeeded the king as Premier. Both the king and his brother are local preachers in the Church and staunch supporters of all moral and religious movements in Tonga.

The ministers upon whom the integrity and development of the Church depend have included some of conspicuous devotion. Such a stalwart was Paul Fukofuka, one of those who refused many times to forsake the Wesleyan ministry for a higher stipend in the Free Church; he died in 1918, a veteran who had been born in pre-Christian days and who remembered John Thomas. Another, of similar fidelity and ability, was John Taufa, an inspiring preacher, who died in 1941. John Havea was senior tutor at Tupou College, 1902-9 and 1912-42. He

/84 cont./

and since this figure has doubled in the past three decades, (240)

240. For example, for 1919. 22,689 Tonga are reported (E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 6) and for 1949, 45,690 (Colonial Office, Report on Tonga for the Year 1949 / cited in English/. London 1950. p. 5).

we must assume that this birth surplus did not exist in the past. Undoubtedly, the improved health service is one of the reasons for this change. However, if we consider the still very inadequate medical help and the indifference and negligence of the population of most of the small islands of the Archipelago, we must conclude that the population increase has other reasons as well. Yet, since the Tonga in the past had no sort of birth control and it is not possible to explain the present excess of births /over deaths/ by a "psychic strengthening" of these natives, since there is no indication that they were formerly "psychically weaker," it is very difficult to interpret this change.

In general,we may say about the birth /process/ in Tonga that it still takes place largely in the ancient Tongan manner, although growing European influences must be reported. These may also be seen in infant care (diet and clothing).

/85/

Death

The odd, yet to the Tongans already quite natural, coupling of ancient Tongan traditions with Christian customs and European material attributes, which we observed in wedding and birth, becomes especially clear to us in /a consideration of/ death and burial.

For an old man who is near death the Tongans sometimes build, as they did in olden times for dying chiefs, (241)

241. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 199.

a special small house where he is laid in preparation for death. This not only gives the dying person special dignity, but it is also

/85 cont./

763 [343] [565] a relief for his family, since one may not smoke, for example, in a house where there is a dead person, and children may not enter such a house. In most cases, however, at least among commoners, death takes place in the family dwelling. The dying one, insofar as his condition will permit, speaks to his family who are assembled at his bedside. Until the end, they try, with medicines, to keep life from 764 going out. When he has expired, his wife washes his body with water and European soap. A deceased wife is washed by her daughter. The [784] [593] child-father taboo is thus observed even in death. The deceased is then dressed by his wife in a new white shirt and a white textile vala (a deceased woman by her daughter in correspondingly good women's clothes). The body is covered from feet to chin with a white or light blue satin sheet and over this (or around the body) are laid three (or more) of the finest mats (kie Tonga or fine Samoa mats) which cover the corpse completely from the neck down (feta'u=death clothes).

In the center of the house the corpse is then laid on mats (for example, fala paongo, fala tofua) which are covered with tapa (ngatu tahina). Often, perfume of eau de cologne is fetched from a shop and is sprinkled on the deceased; his hair is rubbed with Tongan oil (lolo Tonga) and is combed. The face of the corpse is covered with [784] a hankerchief. The person who ministers to the dead man (or woman) is thereafter subject to no taboo (for instance, food taboo).

The relatives of the deceased and of the surviving spouse arrive. They kiss the deceased in Tongan fashion ('uma)[A] and take a seat in the house. The widow sits near the head of the deceased around whom the sons, the daughters and the rest of the kinfolk gather. They pray, [354] [177] [565] weep and give themselves up to their grief. Gasoline /86/ lamps (some ten) lent by the villagers are placed around the corpse; they are a substitute for the traditional lamps or torches, (242)

242. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 200.

[A] [i.e., the nose kiss. See footnote 218 on p. 109--Analyst]

/251 cont./

771 795 198 intelligent men are convinced that spirits exist (671)

671. These are today known as tevolo (devils), as a result of mission work.

and are seized with cold fear, for example, while riding horseback at night in bushland. It sometimes happens that Tongans report [787] ghastly experiences which they allegedly had with such spirits. Some 771 198 natives also believe, as they did in the past, (672)

672. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 236.

787 825 that the call of the sikota bird announces disaster and that it embodies the voice of a dead person. The fata is similarly regarded [763] as a bird of death; if they hear it at night, the early death of a villager may be expected. The tapu that has degenerated to nothing 784 789 more than simple magic in the form of using taboo against theft on 685 198 field products and fruit trees by means of /attaching/ bunches of foilage (673)

673. Leaves wrapped in raw tapa (feta'aki) with a strip of feta'aki hanging on it to mark it; the thief stealing fruit on which a taboo has been placed is supposed to be punished with certain illnesses (for example, ulcers, paralysis).

[763] was still used up to a few decades ago; today the natives rely on their own vigilance, and in places where they suspect plantation thefts they station cooperative groups of watchmen. (674)

674. See also pp. 99-102 on taboo in present-day Tonga; some natives also still believe that it is not good to take food leftovers and cigarettes from a chief; ulcers on the chin area are supposed to be the consequence.

773 198 The beautiful old myths are mostly forgotten, except for those that are today taught in the schools and that have kept the character of fairy tales that people like to listen to but that they do not believe to be true. When earthquakes, which are frequent in Tonga,